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ABSTRACT

This document is the first issue of the University of Wisconsin System "Ethnic and Minority Studies Review," which represents an effort to bring to the attention of the people of Wisconsin and elsewhere an awareness of the work that is being done in the area of ethnic and minority and women's studies, especially within Wisconsin, along with reviews of books dealing with these subjects to aid faculty and laypersons in their efforts to keep abreast of the multitude of publications in these studies. Contents include the following articles: "The Angry Chicano," A.R. Sunseri; "Immigrant studies at Oshkosh," A.W. Andersen; "A multidisciplinary approach to ethnic and minority studies," D. Martin; "Recent works in native American studies: a review essay," G. Sieber; "Racial policies in American industry: a review essay," J.D. Norris; and "Eighteenth century slavery in the British colonies: a review essay," W.M. Wiecek. Twenty books are reviewed, dealing with such topics as the life of Henry Wilson, the oratory of twentieth century Negro leaders, the Maryland Germans, the diary of William Johnson, letters from Negro soldiers, 1898-1902, scientific attitudes of racial inferiority, 1859-1900, racism in California, the abolitionist tradition, the demography of Boston, 1830-1860, the Germans of Nebraska, and other topics. (Author/JM)

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University of Wisconsin System ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES REVIEW, Fall-Winter, 1972-1973. Volume 1, No. 1.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The University of Wisconsin System ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES REVIEW, of which this is the first issue, represents an effort to bring to the attention of the people of Wisconsin and elsewhere an awareness of the work that is being done in the area of ethnic and minority and women's studies, especially within Wisconsin, along with reviews of books dealing with these subjects to aid faculty and laypersons in their efforts to keep abreast of the multitude of publications in these fields.

We welcome articles, correspondence and requests to do book reviews, along with suggestions as to ways and means of improving our publication. Unfortunately, because of financial stringencies, we are unable at present to print the REVIEW but we hope that in the course of time this will be possible.

We would like the REVIEW to become an open forum for the exchange of ideas in the area of ethnic and minority and women's studies and we are therefore receptive to all spectrums of opinion without qualification.

Norman Lederer
Jane Copps

The Angry Chicano

By Alvin R. Sunseri, Professor of History, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa

In 1846 a traditional Mexican-American agrarian society possessed of a unique cultural heritage was conquered by the Anglo-Americans. In the years following the occupation the Mexican-American Ricos, who had cominated the paternalistic society, formed a partnership with the invaders which enabled them to continue exploiting the masses. Pedro Perea, Jose D. Sena, J. Francisco Chaves, and Miguel Otero, among others, joined with such men as Thomas B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, and L. Bradford Prince to form political machines that controlled New Mexico after the Civil War. One reason the Mexican-Americans did not break the power of the ruling class was that they did not possess the educational tools to enable them to do so. The elite, for obvious reasons, was not interested in providing educational opportunities, and the Federal government, which might have furnished support, refused to act. This neglect of education continued until the 1960s. Mexican-American children were forced to attend schools that were segregated on a de facto basis or, when allowed to share school accommodations with Anglos, were encouraged to drop out as soon as possible and attend Escuelas de Obreros (trade schools). Discriminating education persisted in New Mexico until World War II when defense workers arriving in great numbers forced a revision. The rich Anglos sent their sons to the New Mexico Military Institute, founded in 1891 at Roswell; the Ricos and more fortunate Mexican-Americans sent their sons to St. Michael's College and their daughters to Loretto Academy; but the children of the masses of Mexican-Americans were forced to attend poorly supported and segregated parochial and public schools whenever the Anglos dominated a community.

The Church under Bishop Lamy, while it expressed interest in saving souls, paid scant attention to the educational or material needs of Mexican-Americans. Beautiful edifices were constructed, but in the midst of grinding poverty. And in the clergy, avenues for advancement were closed to Mexican-Americans, dominated as the Church was by a white French and Irish clergy who allowed few of the natives to enter their ranks. Even until recently, those Mexican-Americans who were admitted to the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom offered the opportunity to attain a high office. If the Church had shown a greater interest in the needs of its members, some of the problems that afflict present-day New Mexico might have been avoided.

The problems of the present are many and serious, some of them common to all American society, some of them the result of the impact of an alien culture on a native one. Alcoholism is becoming an increasing

practice. Drug addition is high, and the diet of poverty-stricken Mexican-Americans is so poor that it causes mental retardation. The existence of an ethnic caste system has resulted in a sense of defeatism among Mexican-Americans. "And yet," Rodolfo "Corkey" Gonzales has observed, "the legend persists that the Anglo Conquest was conducive to a better way of life."

The Chicanos, however, will no longer tolerate this situation of inequality. "Society," insists Gonzales, "even when it is trying to be benevolent, is a controlled society within which the Anglo makes all the decisions... As a result, my people have been politically destroyed and economically exploited."

In a questionnaire submitted to 500 Mexican-American students at the College of Santa Fe and New Mexico Highlands University in the fall of 1971, a question concerned with inequality was included:

> In your everyday interaction with the Anglo, how frequently do you feel he regards you as an equal?

The responses to this question are as follows:

Always - 15.4%
Usually - 26.6%
Sometimes - 37%
Seldom - 14.1%
Never - 3.9%
Uncertain - 3.0%

Those who noted instances of inequality were then asked to state why they felt the Anglos seldom or never regarded them as equals:

Anglos feel superior - 10.9%
Anglos discriminated against Mexican-Americans - 3.1%
Language and cultural barriers - 0.8%
Anglos feel superior and are inclined to discriminate - 1.6%
Anglos are inclined to discriminate and use cultural barriers - 2.3%
All of the above - 81.3%

Far different were the answers when the Chicanos were asked how often they treated the Anglos as equals, as indicated below:

Always - 27.9%
Usually - 34.9%
Sometimes - 26.4%
Seldom - 4.7%
Never - 6.1%

Formerly respected figures among the Mexican-Americans have lost their "image." An example is Bishop Lamy, immortalized by Willa Cather

and the subject of a forthcoming biography by Paul Horgan. When asked to evaluate the famous church leader, the students responded as follows:

Very favorable - 6.1%
Favorable - 10.8%
Undecided - 27.7%
Unfavorable - 17.6%
Very unfavorable - 13.5%
Don't know him - 24.3%

The consensus of opinion among a large number of Chicanos concerning Lamy is best expressed by a comment made by one of those who viewed him as "unfavorable:"

> A typical "colonial lord." Upper classman who looked down on lower classmen (most New Mexicans). A racist who surrounded himself by a French clergy, and did away with all Native born New Mexican priests.

Manuel Armijo, the Mexican governor at the time of the occupation, has been all but forgotten by the Chicanos or remembered as a villain by a few. When asked to evaluate him, the students gave the following responses:

Very favorable - 1.4%
Favorable - 8.3%
Undecided - 34.7%
Unfavorable - 6.9%
Very unfavorable - 7.0%
Don't know him - 41.7%

On the other hand, the younger Mexican-Americans had high praise for Cesar Chavez, Reies Tijerina, and Rodolfo "Corkey" Gonzales:

	Reies Tijerina	Cesar Chavez	"Corkey" Rodolfo Gonzales
Very favorable	18.4%	36.1%	21.1%
Favorable	44.4%	38.1%	22.2%
Undecided	12.3%	10.3%	23.3%
Unfavorable	10.5%	2.1%	6.7%
Very unfavorable	4.4%	13.4%	4.4%
Don't know him	4.4%	-----	20.0%
Right, but uses wrong tactics	6.6%	-----	2.3%

To be respected, the Chicanos believe they must first establish a cultural identity enabling them to respect themselves. They feel that they must be taught about their history and they demand programs dealing with La Raza and the Mexican-American heritage. Moreover, they insist, the Anglo-American must end his attitude of contempt and disdain that has characterized Anglo-American treatment of the Mexican-Americans since the moment of

first confrontation between the two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and it is not beyond possibility that he might resort to violence. "If we must defend ourselves, we will," Corkey Gonzales said, "but we are seeking to be brothers."

Immigrant Studies at Oshkosh

By Arlow W. Andersen, Professor of History,
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh,
Wisconsin

Professor Norman Lederer has suggested that a word be said concerning the course in "Immigrant Groups in America," as taught at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh for ten years or more. Intended for juniors and seniors, and with no specific pre-requisites, the course is offered each spring semester. It carries two credits and has been well accepted.

The course emphasizes mainly European immigration, with proportionate attention given to Mexican, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Japanese immigration. It does not cover Black Americans, partly because they are not immigrants in the usual sense, and also because a separate course in Afro-American History is available. Most of the topics pertain to the great century of migration, between the 1820s and the 1920s. In the 1920s American immigration was severely restricted by the national origins quota system.

For many years the standard textbook, in colleges and universities where immigration was taught, was Carl Wittke, We Who Built America. At the present time many are using Maldwyn Allyn Jones, American Immigration. There is need for a more complete textbook, one which would combine the better features and the substance of numerous excellent monographs dealing with the various ethnic groups and with other immigration themes.

Bibliographical sources are now quite plentiful, in view of the many reprints of standard works now being made available and the increasing number of ethnic publications, whether in the form of books or of periodicals. We have come a long way from Marcus Lee Hansen (born in Neenah in 1892) and his highly commendable pioneering efforts, The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 and The Immigrant in American History. One film of 50 minutes is outstanding for classroom purposes. It is a documentary, in color, entitled "The Island Called Ellis," narrated by Jose Ferrer. For those interested in purchasing it, the local audio-visual department can probably be of assistance.

While the new International Migration Review (mainly sociological) is practically the only immigration periodical of a general nature, many ethnic-oriented quarterlies and news letters are in circulation. Among them are the Polish-American Studies, the American German Review, the German-American Annals, the Irish Historical Studies, the Swedish

Pioneer Historical Quarterly, and the Norwegian-American Studies (25 volumes of Norwegian-American Studies, plus 27 histories, diaries, biographies, etc.). News letters are published by the Swiss, Italian, Jewish, and Finnish historical societies, and possibly others.

Increasingly the various national groups are microfilming their foreign-language newspapers and other source materials in the interests of preservation and improved readability. Likewise, much attention has been given lately in European countries to the study of emigration. A research Archives on Finnish Emigration, for example, was established at the University of Turku in 1963. And the invaluable work of Professor Ingrid Semmingsen of the University of Oslo on Norwegian emigration has set the pace for later scholars in Norway and elsewhere. Swedish and Dannish emigration are now attracting scholars as never before, among them Sten Carlsson, Sture Lindmark, and Kristian Hvidt.

There is, as readers know, a growing consciousness of the value of ethnic studies in America. Gradually many have come to believe that cultural pluralism can actually be an asset to our national development. The e pluribus unum of the founding fathers seems to be taking on new meaning. Here in Wisconsin there are opportunities for students to engage in research in the foreign-language press, of which our state historical society has an excellent collection. Occasionally also there are diaries and "America letters," copies of letters sent by immigrants to the homeland and retrieved by American scholars. Possibly more college students are seeking the roots of their being and, at the same time, are interested in learning more about the role of immigrants in American life. If so, they may become interested also in the study of American immigration as an important interpretation of our common history.

A Multidisciplinary Approach to Ethnic and Minority Studies With Emphasis on Intercultural Exchange

By Donald J. Martin, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin

Introduction

At the invitation of the Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council a group of students who were enrolled in a course in Specialized Field Work with Minority Groups participated in a project designed to enable them to more fully understand differential life-stule problems and to develop a working model of practical techniques for workingwith various groups and individuals.

The project was made possible by a H.E.W. grant for curriculum development in Social Welfare at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. The grant was written and is now under the directorship of Dr. Dale Hardman, presently the chairman of the Department of Sociology-Anthropology-Social Work at UW-Oshkosh.

In addition to the reservation project students were also engaged in placements at: The Oshkosh Boy's Club; The Winnebago and Fond du Lac County Departments of Social Services; Kettle Moraine Boy's School; The Fond du Lac County Mental Health Center; Autumn House in Fond du Lac; and Rawhide. Because of the massive state wide interest in the experiences of students with the Stockbridge-Munsee and because of the general implications for ethnic and minorities studies this article focuses entirely on the reservation project.

Background

Included among the many criticism leveled at various dominant groups in the United States are those centered around depersonalizing members of minority groups by using them as objects of study. Considering this, faculty from the Department of Sociology-Anthropology-Social Work at UW-O and leaders of the Tribal Council of the Stockbridge-Munsee Indian Reservation sought to provide a vehicle for meaningful intercultural exchange for students and the Stockbridge-Munsee which could be reciprocally beneficial.

In order to provide the basis for an expanded exchange a limited number of students who were already somewhat familiar with the Stockbridge-Munsee were allowed an individualized study program on the reservation in the Fall

and Spring of the 1970-71 and 1971-72 academic year. This allowed for the development of an informal network of relationships which is essential when doing field work. They were assigned to aid in construction of a gymnasium as a part of their work. In so doing they were able to give some credence to the idea that it was not the desire for their own needed fulfillment which prompted the exchange but rather that students could be helpful in lending assistance in whatever manner was deemed necessary.

Convinced of the value of this approach the Tribal Council invited a larger number of students (18) to the reservation to clear a sector of land to be used for campsites and playgrounds and to remove silt from a spot in the river to make it suitable for swimming. This type of Peace Corps project was founded on the idea that the more often people interact with one another the stronger their sentiments of friendship are likely to be toward one another. Then too, where dominant group individuals and minority group individuals perform their roles in relation to each other with similar standards they are more likely to think of each other as individuals rather than as group representatives. A logical conclusion then would be that Indians and Whites working side by side would be caused to reassess stereotypic notions held prior to intensive interaction.

Course Logistics

The course commenced on the UW-Oshkosh campus with an intensive review of germaine literature which covered a total of 35 hours. This period was conducted by a sociologist, a social worker, and an anthropologist each covering the subject of dominant-minority group relations from the standpoint of their respective discipline. Readings were assigned, and operating under the premise that negative motivation is better than none at all a testing schedule was given. Students were able to enroll for 6-8 credits depending upon the time they would have available for participation. The enrollment consisted primarily of Juniors and Seniors representing majors in Psychology, Political Science, Business Administration, Anthropology, Economics, Social Welfare, Education, and Sociology.

The Field Work

After the classroom portion of the project was completed, Camp was set up on the Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation. The camp served as the locus of activity providing a place for the cooking of meals, sleeping space for those who did not commute and shelter during periods of high winds and rain when it was physically dangerous to work in the woods. It also provided a place for the weekly seminar meetings.

During the daylight hours the students labored clearing and improving the land as per instructions from those in charge and were involved in numerous other activities such as supervising a Neighborhood Youth Corps project and working in an arts and crafts retail outlet. Evenings

around the campfire, as well as on weekends the camp was visited by representatives from six tribes including the Menominee, Potawatami, Chippewa, Oneida, Winnebago and Stockbridge-Munsee. The highly informal nature of the frequent rap sessions was especially conducive to the establishment of a deep and lasting rapport. This fostered insights into various aspects of culturel which could not otherwise have been obtained and provided a meaningful educative experience.

Serendipitous Findings

The interaction between students and Indians provided a massive array of new experiences. A good deal of learning also occured in terms of the developing of internal group dynamics. The students were placed in a position in which they experienced, for the first time for many of them, feelings of rejection solely because of group membership. Dominant-minority roles were reversed and members of a dominant group were placed in the status of minority group membership. Whites were a definite power minority. This was augmented by repeated injunctions from faculty members as well as the field supervisors to exercise extreme caution in every way when dealing with the Indians. They were also cautioned to be careful in reference to non-verbal symbolic communications. The outcome of such warnings was that the students initially were overly cautious for fear of "blowing the program". Thus, they felt powerless and unable to manipulate their universe of interaction, hence, were very submissive and open for exploitation. Because the in-group could not focus their hostility on the outgroup they selectively used other students, one by one, to vent their wrath. The stratification system however, never became solidified. It changed at least daily so everyone "had their turn".

Another unanticipated consequence, in reference to internal group dynamics, was the development of an inordinate amount of group cohesion. The welfare of all became a primary motive of each. Leadership patterns and group roles varied temporarily so no single student did more of the menial tasks.

Conclusions

As judged from the responses of students and tribal members the program was more than successful. The former unanimously agreed they "learned more during this period than they learned from all of their prior education". Perhaps an overstatement but it does indicate the extent of enthusiasm as does the fact that students participated, to a person at least 100 hours in excess of the time necessitated by course requirements. Students also were caused to adjust their behavior frequently which is an integral part of any good placement experience. Stereotypes were destroyed and the participants have internalized the idea that there are more differences within groups than between groups. In fact they concede it is not possible to think of Indians as being a group.

On the last day of the students' stay on the reservation the Stockbridge-Munsee held an appreciation feast; the students and faculty involved were invited into homes at anytime and on any occasion. Students were asked to attend beadwork classes, Tribal Council Meetings, Intertribal Council Meetings, and Powwows. Dale Hardman has received a request from another tribe to do the field placement work there.

Recent Works in Native American Studies: A Review Essay

By George W. Sieber, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin

The volumes below are listed in order of probability from most to least useful to serious students of the American Indian, and the review essay that follows will adhere to this arrangement:

Wax, Murray L. Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971. xix + 236 pp. Index, bibliography, no maps nor illustrations. $5.95 hard cover. $2.95 paper bound.

Levitan, Sar A. and Barbara Hetrick. Big Brother's Indian Programs - With Reservations. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1971. xii + 228 pp. Index, illustrations, no maps nor bibliography. $8.95 hard cover.

Heizer, R. F. and M. A. Whipple. The California Indians: A Source Book. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. xiv + 619 pp. Index, bibliography, maps and illustrations. $5.95 paper bound.

Cochise, Ciyé "Niño" and A. Kinney Griffith. The First Hundred Years of Nino Cochise: The Untold Story of an Apache Indian Chief. New York: Abelard-Schuman Limited, 1971. vi + 346 pp. Index, illustrations, maps, no bibliography. $9.95 hard cover.

Bailey, Paul. Ghost Dance Messiah. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1970. vi + 206 pp. No index, bibliography, maps nor illustrations. $6.96 hard cover.

For most scholars, anthropologists, historians, and the general reader, Indian Americans by Wax is the most sophisticated and useful of the five volumes reviewed here. Murray Wax, a University of Chicago Ph.D., with excellent experience behind him, is now Professor of Sociology at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

The volume is part of the Ethnic Groups in American Life Series edited by Milton M. Gordon. The purpose of the series is to provide the American public with a descriptive and analytic overview of its ethnic heritage from the viewpoing of relevant social science.

Chapter Five, "A Tribal Nonreservation People: The Oklahoma Cherokee,"

one of the best essays in the volume, is based on firsthand experience of 1966-67 when Dr. Wax led a research team that studied the Cherokee educational and general social situation. But in no sense is this a book of narrow specialization. For concise historical and relevant sketches of Indian-white relationships, this book is excellent. Primarily, however, it is at the top of the reviewer's list because of its scholarly judgments and interpretations of factual material.

Although the focus of the book is on the Indians of the United States, the author takes pains to erase from our minds the man-made boundaries of nations that tend to cause students to ignore historical interconnections of North American natives with those of the advanced civilizations of the Mexican plateau and the Andean highlands. The Apache and other tribes of North America juxtaposed to some Indians to the south are comparable to the outer barbarians or Germanic tribes in relationship to the Rome of Julius Caesar, but as in ancient Europe, cultural traits diffused widely. Tribes as far north as the St. Laurence River cultivated maize and beans that had been domesticated in a more southern climate.

We are reminded that the natives of North America were not "Indians" until the whites arrived. The definition of "Indian" continues to be determined to great extent, not by race, but by the white view of how people live. Thus the tendency in many regions of the United States is to denote by "Indian" not those of Indian descent if they are successful by the standards of the national society, but only those who are impoverished and ethnically distinct. Thus many Dakotans say "Indian" when they mean Sioux that are "backward" and poor. To great extent, the definition of "Indian" used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) relates to those who qualify as heirs to land held in trust. As Levitan and Hetrick explain in Big Brother's Indian Programs, the Bureau of the Census now relies upon the individual counted to identify himself as Indian. The 1970 questionnaire did not define the qualifications, but allowed the individual respondent to decide his own race. This method avoids awkward guesswork by census takers who used to be shy about asking. As Wax suggests, if the United States counted as "Indian" every person with a drop of "Indian blood" the total would probably be millions instead of the half-million recorded by the census of 1960.

Levitan and Hetrick say that an unusually high birth rate is causing the Indian population to increase by 3 per cent annually, but Wax, in an annotated discussion of reference materials, puts the figure between 1.7 and 2 per cent a year - a rate slightly higher than that for the total population of the United States. As Wax explains, the Indian population has more than doubled itself since 1900, but the rate cannot be precisely determined. After the 1950 census some scholars believed that the Indian population, especially in urban areas, was underrecorded. Thereafter came the new procedures that allowed self classification and also the possibility of counting "persons of mixed white and Indian blood" while avoiding

the issue of interbreeding of other stocks, specifically Negro. One result of including these intermixtures as "Indian" is that the native American population appears to have undergone a population growth higher than might otherwise be attributed to it. Professor Wax also comments that the census chooses to distinguish "Eskimo" from "Indian" for the wrong reason. This belated recognition of the differences among native peoples was based on geographical and ecological isolation, but the traditional Eskimo were no more unlike the traditional Sioux, for example, than the latter were unlike the traditional Papago. The latter two populations, however, are lumped together as "American Indian."

In the chapter "Indian-White Relationships," Wax suggests that scholars have probably overemphasized the role of missionaries, whereas Indians have dealt more with secular traders and agents than with persons dedicated to religious orders and missions. The missionaries, who believed in division of labor by sex as it had developed in European society, thereby sought something very difficult to accomplish - the complete reversal of the sex roles of traditional Indian society. "In the same fashion, the missionaries' demand that each family be a self-sufficient and independent economic unit ran squarely athwart the native norms of generosity, hospitality, and communal interdependence."

Discussing cultural change, Wax states that the traditions of Country Indians may not actually be distinctively Indian, but may have been acquired through white contact. Most Indians today differ greatly from their ancestors. When it does take place, cultural assimilation does not necessarily bring good will from the dominant society. Wax points to the treatment of Japanese-Americans who had become potent economic competitors prior to World War II. The volume contains very useful comments on urban Indian communities such as Barrow, Alaska, Rapid City, Minneapolis, and the New York area.

There is a wonderful balance of concise information in Wax's volume. All eight chapters are excellent, and each has a helpful interpretive conclusion. The treatment is dispassionate in manner and the reviewer agrees with the author when he says in the preface:

> I have not indulged in the popular sport of indicting Whites and Euro-American civilization for the treatment of Indian peoples. During the course of history, almost every people has been guilty of outrageous acts of cruelty and has itself been the fictim of such acts. That many Indian peoples were subjected to horrifying treatment scarcely needs to be said again...We do not wish to deny the sufferings of the Indian peoples, but to realize that neither suffering nor guilt provide a sufficient basis for analysis and planning.

Wax does, however, mention that some whites practiced a sort of bacteriological warfare. The only example offered is that Georgians donated "a large quantity of clothes from smallpox victims to the Cherokee,

with results quite as they had forseen." One of the hundreds of interesting statements in the book is that in 1837 a smallpox pandemic reduced the Mandan from 1,600 to 31. By 1800 the native population was about 600,000, and 50 years later it was about 250,000. Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Sioux, generally suffering malnutrition because white administrators misappropriated funds, were smitten by all manner of disease. Deliberate massacres are admitted - in a short span of years the miners probably eliminated nine-tenths of the native population in California.

We are reminded that many native Americans do not have a strong self-identification as "Indian," but rather as members of a specific tribe or people. The Navajo in particular, because of their size and relative isolation see themselves as a distinct people with population estimated between 75,000 and 100,000. They have the largest reservation but economically it seems unsuited for support of even half the Navajo people. In fact, most reservations have not had an adequate ecological basis for their existence as self-sufficient communities, and from inception have required subsidization - from what they called rations years ago to what are now called surplus commodities.

We are convinced by Wax that there is no simplistic solution to the "Indian problem." He explains why well educated Indians cannot easily take tribal leadership roles. Indian societies tend to be conservative and adults respect the wisdom of age and experience. Youthful leaders appear prominent primarily in urban areas which lack organized societies, and even here their true role as spokesmen in "confrontations staged for the mass media" is not clear.

Indians have survived through an intricate but informal process of mutual assistance and cooperation. This communal interdependence, which may exist within a complex of families, is counter to individualistic achievement and competition as extolled by the Protestant ethos and capitalist ideology. The "Indian problem" is a "set of diverse problems involving the inter-relationship of Indians and non-Indians in a broad ecological and institutional context," and cannot be solved either by whites or Indians alone. The "issue concerns the extent to which the U.S. is going to become a mass society..." or whether it will continue to allow a variety of forms of ethnic organizations and community. The last sentence of the text reads: "Those of us who fear the complete massification of American society thus have reason to be glad that Indians maintain themselves as such, and that there continues to be the "Indian Problem." (Wax uses the capital P.) Having discussed the subject from genocide to melting pot to cultural pluralism, Wax convinces the reader that he truly knows what he is talking about. The next volume is slightly less convincing.

The cover jacket of Big Brother's Indian Problems - With Reservations cleverly displays the last two words of the title as a thought coming from a perhaps befuddled Indian mind. The humor does not extend to the pages within. The volume is an analysis and appraisal of federal assistance to

native Americans on or near reservations, and omits discussion of urbanized Indians. This omits discussion of about 30 per cent of United States Indians.

Sar A. Levitan is a professor of economics at George Washington University, and Barbara Hetrick is a Ph. D. candidate in sociology at the Unitersity of Maryland. If it were not for the occasional references to native culture, this book would amount to an anti-poverty tract with suggestions that could be applied to most any impoverished people. More and more we see the desirability of interdisciplinary studies.

The authors offer the background, present accomplishments, and suggestions for the future in regard to government programs in education, health care, community structure, and economic development. Perhaps the main accomplishment of the book is to provide the reader with recent statistics.

The summary of the three legal codes (federal, state, and tribal) in operation on reservations is useful. There is a lot of practical information offered in all of the chapters. We are told, for example, that medical personnel must not say anything that Indians may interpret to be a scolding - if one expects them to return.

We are told that Congress and the B.I.A. have been conducive to recent progress, and that there is no longer an issue as to whether something should be done to help Indians - the issue is how to design and administer programs, The authors offer the following basic principles: Indians should have "maximum feasible control" over their programs. "Cultural differences among Indians should be recognized and protected from erosion." Living conditions on reservations should be improved as quickly as possible. Reservation economies must be developed and made economically more self-sufficient. Indians must have the "option of maintaining their separateness, geographically and legally, rather than being forcibly integrated into the dominant society."

The authors seek more Indian control of education, but suggest alternative methods. For example, a tribal council could reimburse a neighboring public school if Indians attend it. As regards Indian culture, some change is unavoidable. Inheritance practices should be changed, and the authors suggest that primogeniture would be an improvement over the present heirship problem. Off-reservation Indians should share resources, but not be permitted to force per capita disbursements in lieu of tribal investment. More than anything else, the authors stress the desirability of development of reservation economies: "The key to self-determination and an higher standard of living is economic development." How to do it? The authors do not really know. "The means to economic development are not as obvious as the needs." One suggestion is to avoid dissipation of funds: "Equity or need alone should not be the determinants of resource allocation; rather the potential of the reservation to sustain economic growth should be the most crucial selective factor." Apparently those locations least well endowed must wait longer for progress.

The authors comment on the difficulty of native adjustment to factory discipline, and how they are prone to abandon full-time, year-round jobs for attractive summer employment. Most jobs created on reservations thus far have gone to women, which contributes to the undermining of male pride. Some kind of government matching grants or loans would be helpful - meantime the authors believe that nothing is to be gained by abolishing the B.I.A. To distribute its functions among various federal agencies could "bring more fragmentation of the limited help offered to Indians" and "result in greater waste rather than improved services."

The reviewer believes that the economist, who probably is not especially expert on Indians, has dominated this book, and that for the most part, except for updated figures, scholars will find little in it that they have not read elsewhere or thought of for themselves. Compared to the scholarly refinement of Murray Wax, the writing is pedestrian. On page 58 the word "by" should be inserted after the word "administered."

As our third book came off the press, C. N. Cochise, grandson of the famous Chiricahua Chief Cochise, was nearly 98 years young - old is perhaps not the word to use when describing a man who learned to fly an airplane at age 73, and quit three years later only because a crash had taken his left leg!

Nevertheless, young in spirit or not, there is some danger in relying on the memory of an aged individual for factual information. Conversely, it may be true that people who do not keep records, or do not often refer to written sources, do make a point of remembering things as compared to most of us who can always "look it up" if needed. William T. Hagen in American Indians suggests that an Indian's memory may not be any more reliable than that of a white. Yet, if there is no effort to record the authentic stories of living Indians, there is danger of having no true Indian history at all. Until recently, sources for Indian history have been almost entirely the work of whites, from Jesuits to generals. We have had the work of Paul Radin, and more recently that of Nancy O. Lurie, who as anthropologists have set standards for what can be done. In Mountain Wolf Woman, Dr. Lurie presents numerous notes explaining the background of her subject, her scholarly method, and aids in pronouncing the Winnebago language. By comparison, Cochise's collaborator, A. K. Griffith is much less generous with aids to the background, and while we learn numerous native words, we must guess the pronunciation. No explanation of the working method is given, but Griffith has known Cochise for many years, and has twice gone with him to visit the important site of the story, in northwestern Mexico.

Griffith, although not an Apache, boasts one-eighth Indian blood, and has lived among, with, or near them all his life. Confidence and cooperation being the necessary ingredients for a good working relationship and patient tapping of memory, apparently Griffith and Cochise have been good for each other and have produced an exciting, colorful, authentic account. To his credit, Griffith, who is now a full-time writer, has researched old army records and other sources for some additional information. A very helpful technique is the printing of the subject time era (dates) at the top of each even

numbered page.

Griffith has been very skillful at creating moments of suspense in the narrative - even when nothing comes of some of the episodes. Excitement there is plenty of, however, as Cochise has recollected numerous fights with other Indians, American miners, and Mexicans. We gain a realistic picture of the frontier, almost lawless life of northern Mexico. From the ethnological viewpoint, the most valuable part of the book is the description of primitive life at Pa-Gotzin-Kay, a secluded shelf in the Sierra Madre of northwestern Mexico. To this place fled 38 Chiracahua Apaches who escaped (enroute) the 1876 removal of their people by United States Indian Agent John Philip Clum (with cavalry) to San Carlos Reservation. Cochise was only two years old at the time, but he heard about it from his mother and others, all of them dubbed "The Nameless Ones" by their friend Jeffords (blood brother to the famous Cochise) who had resigned in protest his position as Indian Agent, and would not tell authorities what he knew about the Indians who had disappeared.

Young Cochise grew to manhood and the group elected him chief. The details of life at Pa-Gotzin-Kay are revealed in bits and pieces as the narrative moves along. We observe gold mining, cooking, heavy drinking, courtship, marriage, and death (the Big Sleep). Especially interesting is the relationship that develops between the Indians and the nearby town of Basaranca when it needs the help of the Apaches to crush renegades. Over time the influx of whites cannot be avoided, and ultimately Cochise works as a body guard for the copper magnate, Colonel Greene, and even visits New York - where he found the climate too cold, and life to hectic. By this time, the most valuable part of the book is over, but let us return to Pa-Gotzin-Kay. The most fascinating character is the shaman (medicine man) Dee-O-Det, who is utterly unforgettable. He knows the thoughts of Cochise and answers questions before they are asked. Every year he boils an entire deer, horns, hoofs, and all, to make the very nourishing shaman stew. Occasionally he disappears from camp, causing worry for a considerable period of time, and in one instance, thought to be dead, he reappears leading an ancient deaf and blind dear by the nose! Dee-O-Det, having passed on much wisdom, finally dies at an estimated 111 years, and Cochise emphasizes the fact that although it would be a rare experience for him, he, an adult Apache, did cry profusely both at the death and later at the funeral of this man who had been to him like a father.

James A. Ticer, who deserted the United States Army while on a binge, stumbled upon the tribe and in exchange for refuge, taught them English, helped mine and smelt gold, and participated in their fighting - until killed in a skirmish. The knowledge of English and the $12,000 that Cochise saved in gold enabled him to change his way of life with the coming of the twentieth century. The last few pages relate how the money was soon gone, however, and bit parts in Hollywood and other jobs proved unsatisfactory. In the business of promoting crop dusting, his partner pressured him into becoming a pilot when the regular one was killed. Crashing himself, and fitted with an artificial leg at age 76, Cochise failed to make money displaying native relics that he had saved all this time. Then a flood destroyed most all the relics! But Cochise never gives up - the title implies that this is only the <u>first</u> hundred years anyhow!

A bit confusing in places, this book is top shelf for pleasure, and lower for educational value.

Heizer and Whipple, compilers and editors of The California Indians, are far too modest in their preface where they say that this collection of essays is intended more for a lay public than a professional audience. Scholarship is a cooperative endeavor, and publication of a wise selection of readings is a service. Scholars who are not specialists in California Indians may find that this volume tells them about all that they desire to know about the subject, or where to find more information.

Published in 1951, this book was reprinted seven times. Eleven selections that appeared in the first edition have been omitted, and 18 others added in this 1971 edition. Extensive footnotes, detailed citations to the literature, and some illustrations have been omitted from the selections. Hoping to compensate for omissions of whole topics, the compilers have added a minimal topical bibliography. The main titles in the contents are: General Surveys; Archaeology; Historical Accounts of Native Californians; Ethnology: Material Culture and Economy; and Ethnology: Social Culture. There are 50 readings. Some tribes discussed include the Yumans, Chumash, Yurok, Yahi, Coahuilla, Wintu, Pomo, Miwok, Modoc, Mohave, Maidu, Hupa, and the Yokuts. The compilers warn us that authors in the section on historical accounts were not trained in ethnology, and that while most of the facts are correct, inferences drawn from them are not. Perhaps the compilers should have been even more helpful here with critical footnotes, rather than merely saying that: "Each account should be compared to a recent ethnography as a check on the reliability of the interpretations made by the original authors."

The compilers state that Alfred L. Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California, written in 1918 and published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1925, has never been supplanted as an authoritative source. The present collection includes 10 selections (some co-authored) by Kroeber, six by R. F. Heizer, and four by S. F. Cook.

Our final selection is Ghost Dance Messiah. Paul Bailey has written several popular histories, biographies, and novels with a Western setting. Apparently he felt that something remained to be done on the subject of his biography: Wovoka, The Indian Messiah. Weston La Barre does not cite this Bailey book in his The Ghost Dance (1970), but refers the reader to James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 (14th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, part 2, 1896), and to a paperback "overly shortened" version by A. F. C. Wallace (University of Chicago Press, 1965).

Can a skillful writer of fiction portray the "truth" with an impact greater than that possible by the ordinary biographer or historian? No doubt there are examples of this, but it is doubtful that Ghost Dance Messiah is one of them. Certainly it is not an example of lasting good literature. It is an interesting story of an amazing Indian personality. One has the feeling that the author rewrote the basic biography, this time mixing lots of conversation in with the facts. No doubt the novel form allowed the author more leeway for conjecture

and speculation.

The first of the two Ghost Dance Movements, that of 1870, was led by Tavibo, a Paiute from Walker Valley, Nevada. Bailey's novel holds that Wovoka, the leader of the second movement, that of 1890, was the son of Tavibo. La Barre states that some scholars doubt the relationship. The factual background of the novel is, nowever, satisfactory. Wovoka worked as a ranch hand attached to the religious family of David Wilson, from whom he learned English and something of Jesus and Christian theology. "From now on you'll be known as Jack," David Wilson declared, and Wovoka became Jack Wilson. The words of Mr. Wilson continue (p. 11) but end without the necessary quotation marks.

Life was relatively good because Jack grew up with young Bill Wilson for a companion. Upon the threshold of manhood and courting, however, the inclination of Bill to show off his blood brother - they had undergone a ceremonial cutting and mixing - began to diminish. Of course the frustrating thing about reading a novel for anything but entertainment is that the reader never knows for sure about the truth of what is described. Anyway, Jack was sensitive about the "white antipathy toward smelly Paiutes," and his interest turned to his Indian people. Jack now works hard at developing and fulfilling his destiny as a messiah - the Indian Jesus. The prophet is portrayed as a fake who arranges miracles such as ice coming down the river (white friends having put it in upstream) and maintains that he cannot be killed. This last kept him in a state of constant fear lest people keep testing, as did someone who was a bad shot, his invulnerability.

Sick with fever, Wovoka was in a delerium or trance simultaneously with the total eclipse of the sun. During this episode he saw God and all the people who had died long ago. God told Wovoka to preach goodness to his people who should practice war no more.

The amanuensis to Wovoka, Edward A. Dyer, who operated a store, was the source of much of the factual information in the novel. Economically, it was not bad being a prophet. The hunt was divided with Wovoka, and he had a deal going with storekeeper Dyer whereby he wore new clothing a couple of hours (constant clean clothes) before they were sold as holy garments. Cash for this tumbled out of Wovoka's mail. Even far-off tribes knew that he was omniscient and invincible to white men. This made trouble for Wovoka because some of the new converts had a reputation for warfare, and the prophet could receive the blame.

The unreconcilable Sitting Bull, shaman and chief of the Hunkpapa band of the Teton Dakota Sioux, had participated in the downfall of Custer. Sitting Bull continued the Ghost Dance, but was killed in a skirmish when white troops tried to arrest him. The death of Sitting Bull did not end the Ghost Dance among the Sioux. The ingredient that fed this religious movement was despair. To a broken people it offered one last hope. The world would be renewed with game, the Indian dead would return, and the whites would be gone. This would happen if the Indians would sing the songs of Wovoka, wear the holy

garments, and perform the circle dance. But the whites did not understand that they were to be danced out of existence. The Indians had weapons; the whites brought their Hotchkiss guns to the Battle of Wounded Knee. Why had Yellow Bird, the medicine man, thrown dust into the air before the firing began? "It is my own symbol," Wovoka said sadly, "I teach it to the Sioux. It means the dust storm that is coming to bury all whites."

"You see, Jack? You're to blame for one hell of a lot of things."

"I did only what God told me to do."

The massacre had broken the Sioux and the spirit of Wovoka: "When the soldiers killed the Sioux - I, Jesus, died with them." All that remained for him to do was to tell the story to James Mooney of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. For the real story, read Mooney; for entertainment, read Bailey.

Racial Policies in American Industry: A Review Essay

By James D. Norris, Professor of History, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri

Fletcher, F. Marion; The Negro in the Drug Manufacturing Industry: Report No. 21 - The Racial Policies of American Industry; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Warton School of Finance and Commerce; 1970, xi +149, index, $5.95.

Fletcher, Linda Pickthorne; The Negro in the Insurance Industry: Report No. 11 - The Racial Policies of American Industry; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Warton School of Finance and Commerce; 1970, xii +178, index, $5.95.

Jones, Edward H.; Blacks in Business; New York; Grosset and Dunlap; 1971, 214, index, bibliography, $5.95.

Leone, Richard D.; The Negro in the Trucking Industry: Report No. 15 - The Racial Policies of American Industry; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Warton School of Finance and Commerce; 1970, xi + 148, index, $5.95.

Northrup, Herbert R. and Rowan, Richard L.; Negro Employment in Southern Industry: A Study of Racial Policies in Five Industries: Volume IV - Studies of Negro Employment; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Warton School of Finance and Commerce; 1970, vii + 762 (not paginated consecutively), indexes, $13.50.

Thieblot, Armand J., Jr.; The Negro in the Banking Industry: Report No. 9 - The Racial Policies of American Industry; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Warton School of Finance and Commerce; 1970, xiii +211, index, $5.95.

All of these studies, with the exception of Jones's, Blacks in Business, are parts of a long range project on the racial policies of American industry undertaken by the Industrial Research Unit of the Warton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. The Warton studies, which were funded by a 1966 grant from the Ford Foundation, follow the same general format; the structure of the industry being studied is outlined, factors influencing employment practices are analyzed, and the present patterns of Negro employment within the industry is presented along with recent trends and projections for future Negro employment opportunities. Although the quality of the individual studies vary somewhat with the author, as a whole they are well researched, buttressed by ample statistical evidence, and written in a clean lucid style.

Drug manufacturing may not be too significant from the perspective of total labor force or even in terms of the basic economic structure. Its

importance to Negro employment lies in the youth and the growth of the industry. As the demand for health services increases, the drug industry will present increasing employment opportunities for blacks. Fletcher suggests that the differences between ethical (prescription) and proprietary drug manufacturing are vital to understanding the structure of the total industry because of the different market orientation and employment patterns. In marketing ethical manufacturers rely heavily on personal contacts with physicians through almost exclusively white sales personnel. Proprietary concerns tend to direct their sales effort to advertising in the mass media. However, even in the manufacturing process Negro employment varies between ethical and proprietary concerns. Ethical drug manufacturing is more labor intensive, in both the skilled and unskilled catagory, and employs a greater absolute number of Negroes. However, proprietary companies employ a greater proportion of unskilled and black employees. In both branches, location appears to be a significant factor in hiring patterns. Positive indicators for black employment are firms located in cities and suburbs, outside of the south, with a sizable black population. Another characteristic of the industry, both ethical and proprietary, is an increasing demand for labor.

The insurance business in the United States is characterized by a large number of firms dominated by a few large firms. The labor force consists of a great number of clerical workers, mostly unskilled and nonunionized. This seemingly great potential for black employment, especially black women, has not been realized. Traditionally blacks have been excluded from sales activity, except in Negro communities or in black owned companies which tend to be small concerns. The industry has followed a policy of decentralized hiring and promotion from within the ranks on a basis of seniority; unless this system is drastically modified there appears little reason for optimism for increased Negro employment or promotion for few black white collar workers that have been recently employed.

Richard Leone's study of the trucking industry is limited to for-hire or public carriers available to the general public or contract carriers operating under continuing contracts with a limited number of shippers. The trucking industry is characterized as a growing industry dominated by a large number of rather small-scale units. Employment opportunities within the industry include a large number of positions requiring a minimal amount of education and training. Only ten percent of trucking employees are in positions demanding more than high school education and it is unlikely that Negroes will find increased employment opportunities in these fields. However, over one-half of all employees are operators (drivers) and the demand is increasing in this area: it is these positions which should offer excellent opportunities for black employment.

However, the role of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters - the nation's largest and perhaps strongest union - within the industry is crucial. Blacks traditionally have not found a ready welcome within the ranks of the IBT. During the 1905 Teamster strike in Chicago, blacks were blamed for taking the places of striking whites and have been prototyped by many teamsters

as strikebreakers ever since. More important many IBT locals are dominated by distinct and powerful national or religious blocs which reserve jobs for their own members. Since 1969, the IBT has taken some positive steps, and the industry has hired or upgraded more Negroes. For the most part this new effort has been largely militated by suits filed in pursuance of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act naming both the companies and IBT as defendants. However, the new "socially minded" policies of the Teamsters have aroused ill-feeling in the local rank and file members, especially in the south and local union officials risk being voted out of office if they cooperate too readily with the National's effort to increase black employment. There is little reason to believe that much progress will be made without continuing pressure from the federal government.

The banking industry may be the most highly regulated industry in the country - it certainly is the most conservative. Traditionally concerned with presenting to depositors and to the public an image of safety and conservatism, banks have generally been slow to espouse new causes and seldom agents of social change. This philosophy has applied to Negro employment in the industry. Rapid employment growth in the banking industry and the concentration of this growth in populous regions and large institutions created a favorable climate for the introduction of black personnel. However, the skill breakdown in the industry has not worked to the advantage of the Negro. Thieblot suggests that several factors have affected black employment levels in banking: the white collar orientation of the industry, the high skill levels required for even entry level jobs, the industry's increasing female orientation, and the importance of services involving the handling of cash and important documents.

Although the banking industry was among the last in the United States to adopt an equal employment policy and provide substantial opportunities for blacks, Thieblot stops short of suggesting that overt discrimination was a major cause of this. Almost every aspect of the specific job requirements within banking industry appeared unfavorable to the employment of blacks. During the World War II years, the industry turned to females rather than blacks for a new labor supply. Supposedly banks feared adverse reactions from customers. Thieblot suggests however, that this may have been an over-reaction on the part of bank managers, or a methodology by which blame for inaction was transferred. In truth the banking industry faced little pressure in most instances to hire more blacks because Negro organizations tended to concentrate on industries which seemed to offer much greater potential. Left to its own conservative traditions, banking concerns have been slow in providing meaningful opportunities for blacks; significant changes in the facial composition of the banking industry began to take place only after outside pressure forced banks to abandon their conservative traditions.

Northrup and Rowan's, Negro Employment in Southern Industry is a compilation of five separate studies of racial policies in industry: 1) the lumber industry - the largest industrial employer of blacks in the South 2) the paper industry - a major employer in the South 3) the coal mining industry - a major employer of blacks in earlier years 4) the textile industry -

situated primarily in the South 5) the tobacco industry - which has the longest continuous record of factory employment in the United States. With the exception of the coal mining industry, where statistical information was not available from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the four industries studied are representative of black employment in Southern industry. Each of these four industries employed blacks in virtually the same ratio for each occupational level as did Southern manufacturing as a whole.

In all cases, blacks have been disproportionally represented in the industries. Generally, blacks have been hired for the least attractive and lowest paying positions in the industries. The lumber industry is particularly suited to the utilization of minority groups. It is characterized by low wages, lack of entrance requirements low skills and educational attainment necessary for employment. The black man has been a critical component in the industry; unfortunately, this component has been situated almost entirely in blue collar positions. The tobacco industry was one of the first colonial industries to employ blacks; blacks have remained racially segregated in the industry for over a century. Similarly, occupational employment in the paper industry has kept blacks out of better paying jobs until massive government intervention in the mid-sixties. Change in the industry remains somewhat stifled by the industry's training and seniority system. The bituminous coal industry has employed blacks in the mines since earliest times in 1750. However, employment in the soft-coal industry is declining at a rapid rate. While the number of white workers has declined, the rate has been at a much faster pace for blacks. Howard predicts that if present trends persist, blacks will vanish from the mines in the next thirty years. Most influencial in the trend is the failure of the United Mine Workers to instigate and effect reforms, the nechanization of many positions, and of course the attitude of firms within industry.

The most optimistic prediction for Negro labor lies in the textile industry. Blacks were excluded from the industry almost entirely from 1890 to 1960. Only when white workers moved to better paying industries and after the federal government initiated action, has the structure been altered. Only since 1964, however, have blacks been hired to fill operative and craftsman positions and the vast majority of jobs in the textile industry fall into this catagory.

One must realize that the extent of black employment is greatly influenced by the nature of the work in an industry. The lumber, paper, coal mining and tobacco industries are all heavily blue-collar oriented. The white collar distribution in all industries averages around twenty percent; the Negro component in this distribution averages approximately two percent. In all blue collar jobs, the distribution for blacks exceeded that of whites by approximately twenty percent, the percentage increasing the lower the job leve. The abolition of mis-conceived ideas about blacks, ideas not unique to the South, combined with job training programs and continued government pressure are essential to sustain or add to the gains made in Negro employment.

Since all of the industries in these studies share, to varying degrees, common determinants of racial policies - demand for labor, job structure,

technology, government pressure, unionism, location, and tradition - some generalizations are apparent. For example, a tight labor market during and after World War II proved instrumental in increasing black employment in the paper, coal mining, textile, insurance and drug industries. However, one should be careful in generalization because the shared determinants vary in their priorities. The banking industry, faced with the same labor shortage, turn to women rather than break tradition and hire blacks.

Just as important as the labor market in determining the willingness of industry to hire blacks has been the job structure within the industry. This factor is readily apparent in analyzing the insurance and tobacco industries. Over one-third of the insurance companies employees are classified as sales personnel - a field traditionally hesitant to hire blacks. Most of the remaining employees are clerical help and insurance companies have employed Negroes as clerks only with reluctance. From the colonial period blacks have been employed in the tobacco industry in the job categories requiring minimal skill and training which comprise more than fifty percent of the total employment. On the other hand, in the lumber industry, where blacks are employed in large numbers, there has never been this precise separation of "black" and "white" jobs. Conversely, the textile industry, also employing a large percentage of low skilled workers, remained almost entirely a "white"industry until these workers sought better paying jobs.

Technology has also been a factor of considerable importance in black employment. Again, the tobacco industry affords an example. In the past several years, the proportion of blacks in the industry has declined largely as a result of mechanization and automation. Of all the industries studied, coal mining perhaps has been the most adversely affected by mechanization. During the 1930s and 1940s the number of blacks in the industry decreased twenty percent per decade (compared to a twenty percent increase per decade for whites). The author suggests that blacks will disappear from the industry in the next three decades. In the banking industry however, a new wave of technology may create positions that may come to be filled by blacks - blacks with the "proper" training. Although there have been many technical changes in the textile field, black employment in this area has been too new to show the effects.

Government pressure has not been as an important factor in most of these industries as one might think. Perhaps because it is a relatively recent phenomenon. It has however had a strong influence in the drug industry and the sharp rise in Negro employment after 1966 can be attributed to the combined efforts of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). Although the federal government has been active since 1961 in the fight for equal opportunity in the trucking industry, truckers have been slow to comply. This lack of progress has led to the filing of a number of court cases in pursuance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It appears that governmental action is a necessity in this industry. The activities of the EEOC should also have a positive effect in the policies of the insurance companies; however, investigations have been restricted to large companies. While governmental pressure has been the prime motivator in the paper industry, in the lumber, tobacco and textile industries federal

action has not been significant.

Unionization has not played an important part in most of the industries considered; only in coal mining and trucking have strong unions developed. Unfortunately both the United Mine Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have been slow to instigate plans. In most cases union action for fair employment practices has been forced by federal pressure.

Location of an industry is a major determination of racial policies. Industries in the South where the black population is the greatest and in highly urban Northern areas where black population is increasing, generally have a higher proportion of black employees than other areas of the country. This is not true though in bituminous coal mining or in the textile industry, both located in the South. The paper industry, now situated primarily in the South, does employ a large number of blacks. Similarly, the lumber industry in the South is the largest employer of blacks (in the South). Blacks comprise over forty-one percent of the work force in the lumber industry. Variations in employment occur with regional differences. In general, the most progressive companies have been located in the Northeastern section of the country. For instance, New York City's banking industry, which employs approximately ten percent of the total work force of the industry, was found to hire blacks more nearly in proportion to the population ratio than any other area. Perhaps surprisingly, the South also leads in the representative hiring of blacks in that industry. The study however concluded that the location of a banking industry by region is not as important as might be expected because, for the most part, blacks who are potential job applicants to the industry live in urban areas from which the majority of banking employment is drawn. In the drug manufacturing industry also, location appears to be less a factor than expected in determining black employment. Although the highest percentage of blacks is found in city locations, the percentage in suburban locations is substantial. This data indicates that blacks, like whites, who can obtain good jobs are leaving the cities for available work elsewhere. Thus, some of the traditionally held views of Negro employment by region have broken down; however, location of industry remains a key factor in determining racial policies.

Tradition is perhaps the hardest concept to evaluate and yet in many cases it may be the most persuasive, particularly in the banking, insurance, and trucking industries, where employees have considerable amount of contact with the public. The idea of the Negro inferiority and therefore capable of certain tasks continues to play a major role in the policies of all industries and businesses. In none is the black man equally represented. In the professional ranks, in sales and clerical jobs, and in craftsman positions the Negro is systematically discriminated against. Generally when he has been hired he has been relegated to unskilled or semi-skilled blue collar positions.

A major hypothesis of the series is that consumer oriented industries and companies are more likely to be aware of external pressures such as those initiated by civil rights groups; therefore, it is argued, they will take action to meet such pressures. The record of the paper industry tends to support

these contentions. The Scott Paper Company, a consumer oriented firm, has been a leader in minority integration in the industry. Similarly, the proprietary or non-prescription drug industry which is consumer oriented has also had a better record in this area than the ethical or prescription drug industry. Trucking has been affected in a similar fashion, as has banking. Insurance industries however, do not appear to have been affected by external pressures; rather, they have appeared to escape outside pressure and have been left to pursue antiquated policies. True to the hypothesis, little pressure has been exerted toward the lumber, tobacco, coal mining, and textile industries. For this reason government action seems especially vital in those industries or unions which are not sensitive to public pressure.

Anyone working in the area of minority studies sooner or later becomes aware of the absolute paucity of scholarly works in many crucial areas. Nowhere is this more evident than in economic and business history. Hopefully the Racial Policies of American Industries series in providing basic framework and sound statistical information will promote scholarly research in black economic and business history. Perhaps the best evidence of the neglected state of black business history if Jones' Blacks in Business.

After a short, but very good, historical essay which should go a long way toward dispelling the myth that the rise of a black upper and middle class is recent phenomenon, Jones' Blacks in Business reads much like the how to succeed in business manuals so prevalent in the business presses fifty to seventy-five years ago. Jones emphasizes the disadvantages facing potential black entrepreneurs such as the restricted and restrictive milieu in which he will have to operate, the overt and covert discrimination from the white community, and the problems of securing adequate capital resources. Nevertheless, he assures the aspiring black capitalist, by frequent success models, that the American economic system - if not perfect - is still a system that is improving and one that can provide opportunity to all those that wish to succeed in the business world - black or white. The fact that Jones' study appears so dated should not be taken as an indictment of the author, but of the system and the neglected state minority studies in American scholarship.

Eighteenth Century Slavery in the British Colonies: A Review Essay

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Brathwaite, Edward. The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Pp. xvi, 374. Index, bibliography, maps, appendices. $16.00.

Mullin, Gerald W. Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth Century Virginia. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Pp. xviii, 219. Index, bibliography, maps. $7.95.

[Daniel Horsmanden, comp.] The New York Conspiracy. Ed. Thomas J. Davis. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971. Pp. xxxii, 491. Index, introduction by editor. $2.95 (paper).

The approach of the American Revolution bicentennial, coming at a time of intense interest in slavery and in the beginnings of New World societies, makes most timely the appearance of three books dealing with slavery in eighteenth-century British colonies. Such studies are especially welcome to correct our tendency to think of slave societies solely in terms of the nineteenth-century slave system of the southern United States. Slavery, like other social institutions, varied and developed over time and in different places, and was just one element, albeit the most important one, in the creation of multi-racial societies. Hence the importance of investigating slavery in earlier and non-American cultures.

Edward Brathwaite's monographic study of Jamaica between 1770 and 1820 should prove especially appealing to students of America's peculiar institution, revealing as it does the structure of a society so like our own in some ways - multi-racial, derived from the same cultures, part of a broad Atlantic politico-economic order - and so different in others. The differences between the mainland colonies and Jamaica stemmed chiefly from two basic facts of Jamaican life. First, slaves outnumbered whites by a ratio of about ten to one; and second, derivative of the first, Jamaica was one of the British colonies that did not follow its mainland sisters into revolt against the metropolis. The Jamaican House of Assembly aptly and candidly summed up the island's situation in 1774 when it noted that, "weak and feeble as this colony is, from its very small number of white inhabitants, and its peculiar situation, from the encumbrance of more than two hundred thousand slaves, it cannot be supposed that we now intend, or every could have intended, resistance to Great Britain."

Though white Jamaicans disavowed constitutional autonomy, they were

obliged, as Brathwaite notes, to strike out for a greater degree of internal self-government and economic self-sufficiency, as a result of the American Revolution. Though they achieved both in some measure (Jamaica in the early nineteenth century was not one vast sugar plantation worked by enslaved black masses for the enrichment of absentee proprietors, the West India Interest) their cultural, economic and policital subordination to the British metropolis was enhanced. This subordination assured the comparatively easy victory, not only of Abolition (a term which, in a British context, refers to the termination of the slave trade), but of Emancipation. Though Jamaica had its share of internal racial strife, and though its whites chafed at imperial emancipationist policies, when emancipation came in 1833, no blood was shed and no army of occupation had to be stationed in the island to enforce a social revolution.

The differences between the mainland colonies and Jamaica produced a society that, by mainland standards, was peculiar. As one example of Jamaican distinctiveness: at the Army's insistence, and over strenuous objection from the planters, free blacks were not only armed in Jamaica, but actually embodied in a regular regiment, the Second West-Indian. The free coloureds and free blacks of the island, though disfranchised, were compelled to peform militia duty, and by 1819 outnumbered white militiamen in the infantry regiments of seven parishes. Only in Louisiana, the one American state having a social order similar in some ways to Jamaica was the idea of a black soldier thinkable. Or take this example of contrasts: in 1740, coincidentally a year before the supposititious black uprising that is the subject of one of the books here reviewed, a group of former slaves, the Maroons, living in the mountainous parts of Jamaica, secured not only the de jure recognition of their freedom, but also certain privileges, including land grants, that the surrounding whites more or less respected and tolerated until a second Maroon uprising in 1795. By contrast, in American slave states, individual "outlying Negroes," as they were usually called, were ruthlessly hunted down, particularly if they committed atrocities like chicken-stealing, and notices advertising their outlawry or prices on their heads would occasionally appear in the southern papers. Complementing this was the national policy of exterminating a colony of runaways and Indians in Spanish Florida in 1816 during the so-called First Seminole War, in which a fort containing about 270 men, women, and children was destroyed and nearly all the occupants deliberately killed by firing hot shot into a powder magazine.

Jamaica and the West Indies have been fortunate in their historians. Beginning with the two great foundations of Jamaican historiography, Edward Long's History of Jamaica (1774) and Bryan Edwards' The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies (1793), extending through F. W. Pitman's Development of the British West Indies (1917), and Lowell Ragatz' Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean (1928) and the same author's superb bibliographic source, A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History (1932), and culminating recently in Phil Curtin's Two Jamaicas (1955), Orlando Patterson's The Sociology of Slavery (1967), and Elsa Goveia's Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century (1965), the constitutional, political, and economic history

of the Antilles have been thoroughly explored. Brathwaite, however, is dissatisfied with the approach of his predecessors, characterizing it as based on "the assumption...that Jamaica was a mere declining appendage of Great Britain from the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, and...its own internal structure and body was, at best, a parody of the metropolitan, at worst, a disorganized, debased, and uncreative polity." In contrast to this view, which he refers to as the "colonial" approach, (because it sees the island from a metropolitan viewpoint, and as a colony in the imperial system), Brathwaite advances what he calls the "creole" view, one that looks at Jamaica in its own right and that recognizes the creative accomplishments of the white elite that ran the island and of the black masses that worked out an Afro-creole culture to preserve something of a racial identity. We must see Jamaican society, Braithwaite insists, "not in terms of white and black, master and slave, in separate nuclear units, but as contributory parts of a whole."

Brathwaite is not so much interested in the traditional politico-constitutional history of Jamaica as he is in the process by which a creole society was formed. He proposes to explain the process of "interculturation" among the elements of Jamaican society, a process on which he bestows the unpleasant-sounding but descriptive term, "creolization." He sees the creole culture that emerged in Jamaica as "part of a wider New World or American culture complex" and describes a complex situation where a colonial polity reacts, as a whole, to external metropolitan pressures, and at the same time to internal adjustments made necessary by the juxtaposition of master and slave, elite and labourer, in a culturally heterogeneous relationship." Regrettably, Brathwaite does not entirely redeem this alluring promise.

In contrast to the emphasis on process in the introduction, more than half the book presents a static picture of Jamaican society c. 1770. Within this generally static framework, Brathwaite describes the institutions and classes of Jamaica generally from an elitist and white ethnocentric perspective. He describes Jamaican society as a highly and rigidly structured pyramid, and examines it from the top down, with a heavy emphasis on the white elite that ran the "Establishment" (Braithwaite's term) of Jamaica. Brathwaite surveys free and enslaved blacks and mulattoes cursorily in four chapters, but generally the non-white element in his drama is more backdrop than actor. This is due in part to the problem confronting all students of slavery, the paucity of authentic records left by the inarticulate blacks. Jessee Lemisch's efforts notwithstanding, our knowledge of the minds of people who did not write diaries, newspaper essays, parliamentary orations, personal correspondence, sermons, and so on must necessarily be inferential.

This raises the tricky problem of handling inferential evidence, which Brathwaite does not always accomplish satisfactorily. For example, he argues that Jamaican slaves "were more than likely, through a kind of emotional osmosis, to have absorbed prevailing Establishment ideas about themselves" in which "the slaves as a group...somehow agreed to play the role assigned to them [by the whites] in the drama." For whites, "the opinion of their Superiority," as the Kingston Common Council resolved, was

"essential...for preserving the dominion of the few over many," but it scarcely follows that the functioning of a slave society necessarily required the many to adopt the racial assumptions of the few. Perhaps they do, but the process of creolization that Brathwaite speaks of was something more than the simple imposition of a white ethic on a passive black mass. Even in describing the whites' attitudes, Brathwaite seems to ignore the work of Winthrop Jordan, thus exaggerating the one-dimensional character of his portrait.

Despite the extensive study of the pidgin and creole languages of Jamaica, despite the outpouring of books on slavery recently, particularly those emphasizing comparative approaches, the coloureds and blacks of Jamaica, an overwhelming majority of people on the island since the eighteenth century, are still to have their story told. Brathwaite carries Jamaican historiography forward by viewing Jamaica from the island, as it were, rather than from the metropolis, and his book is influenced by the sociological and anthropological research of the past few decades. In both these respects, his study is an advance over its predecessors. But in terms of what the author proposed t do, in terms of the work of Goveia and Patterson, in terms of present trends in the historiography of slavery, this essentially static survey of Jamaican society is disappointing.

Gerald Mullin's Flight and Rebellion provides an illuminating contrast to Brathwaite's work. Both men pursued the same general theme: the emergence of an indigenous and acculturated slave caste in an eighteenth century British colony. Both men see slavery as central to the formation of the total society, and as having as great an impact on the whites involved as on the blacks. With this, though, comparisons between the two studies must end. Where Brathwaite seeks to explain the creolization of an entire society, Mullins tries to describe ways in which the oppressed part of society responded to oppression; hence, the "flight," "rebellion," and "resistance" of his title and subtitle. Mullin tries to view this reaction as much as possible from the perspective of the slaves, though he too labors under the inevitable handicap facing students of slavery, the scarcity of slave-created primary sources. Mullin overcomes this in part by drawing freely on sociological and psychological theory to supplement his evidence. Given the different approaches of these two authors, two considerably different studies result.

Virginia's slave-based society was much different at the end of the eighteenth century from what it had been at the beginning, Mullin argues. In the later period, many more slaves were native Americans and were acculturated, especially by being fluent speakers of English. They also had varying but surprisingly high levels of skills. They were mobile, having lived in several different places and under several different masters; and they had received a thorough, if unintended, education in the white man's ideals and ways. Hence a paradox: as the utility of these slaves to their masters increased, so by the same measure did their disaffection and their ability to resist slavery.

As slaves progressed up the ladder of acculturation, the modes of their resistance changed. The closer the slaves were to their African origins, the more they tended to express their resistance within the plantation itself, which

was only natural, since such slaves were almost entirely field slaves, with little mobility, skills, or English. This plantation-directed resistance would take the form of malingering, feigning stupidity or clumsiness, or plain shirking. The "outlandish" (i.e., African) slaves would also supplement work evasion by filching from the master's stores, by mendacity or surliness, and by brief periods of AWOL, usually to visit friends, family, or lovers on a nearby plantation.

The second generation of slaves would acquire, with their increasing acculaturation, the ability to carry on a broadened form of resistance directed outside the plantation, chiefly by running away. One of the many virtues of Mullin's study is his demonstration of the complexity of motives and modes of running away. In the eighteenth century, a relatively acculturated slave did not simply strike out into the woods, and almost never did he have a northern destination in mind. Rather, he would head toward a more distant plantation area, a town, or, less frequently, a frontier area. In the former two, he would try to market whatever skills he had and pass as a freeman, something that seems to have been fairly easy in the towns and connived at by whites.

The American Revolution profoundly changed Virginia's society, and with it the environment in which slave resistance was carried out. It created the possibility that resistance would be more organized, more rationalized ideologically, more of a group effort, and more prone to violence directed at the whites. All the elements of this new mode of resistance were realized in the 1800 event known as Gabriel's Rebellion, an aborted but surprisingly well organized uprising in Richmond, its environs, and in more distant places. As the demand for skilled and semi-skilled slaves increased during and after the war, the widely bruited ideology of republican liberty found a receptive black audience. St. George Tucker, something of a Cassandra to his generation, warned his fellow whites that "every year adds to the number of those / slaves/ who can read and write; and he who had made any proficiency in letters, becomes a little centre of instruction to others. This increase of knowledge is the principal agent in the spirit we have to fear. The love of freedom, sir, is an inborn sentiment..."

Mullin perceives, though he does not sufficiently exploit, an <u>apercu</u> being developed by my colleague Charles Dew in his research on the slave-manned Virginia iron works of a later period, namely, that the relationship between master and slave was not simply one in which the former gave orders and the latter either obeyed or resisted, with the whole relation resting ultimatly on the sanction of the whip. Rather, the relationship was mutually interactive, with the slave exploiting every potential weakness in the master's circumstances to establish, as it were, a "bargaining position" by which he could cajole or extort out of the master some goal of his own, such as placement near a loved one or a more diversified work assignment. There was a vast area in the relation between most masters and most slaves of minimal acculturation in which the master got less out of the slave than he wanted or was forced to concede more than he might have wished, and in which the threat to the master's authority was not serious enough to require resort to the lash. The slave, within the confines of slavery and the plantation society, had a

bargaining power that most masters not only recognized but were forced to respect to some extent. Something of this can be seen in a letter written in 1771 by John Tayloe, proprietor of Mount Airy plantation on the Rappahannock, to his downstream neighbor, Landon Carter of Sabine Hall:

p. 56 Now give me leave to complain to you, That your Patroll do not do their duty, my people are rambleing about every night...my man Billie was out,...at Col. Carter's, by particular invitation, so that the Entertainment was last night at Sabine Hall, & may probably be at Mt. Airy this night, if my discoverys do not disconcert the Plan...

Annoyed, resigned, possibly amused inwardly at his predicament, Tayloe represents the master who was forced to accede informally to a slave's wishes as Billie and his friends got away with their partying.

Billie, on the other hand, personifies the type of slave who is the focus of Mullin's study. According to Tayloe, who obliged historians by writing a little description and biography of this slave in a runaway notice when Billie finally took leave permanently, he had "a surprising knack of gaining the good Graces of almost Every Body who will listen to his bewitching and deceitful Tongue;" Billie was ingenious, "capable of doing almost any Sort of Business, and for some Years past was...a Founder, a Stone Mason, and an Miller." as well as being Tayloe's bodyservant, "one of which trades, I imagine, he will, in the Character of a Freeman, profess." Billie epitomized the characteristics and attitudes of the acculturated slave: clever, articulate, able to manipulate or deceive whites, skilled at one or more trades, able to pass as a freeman.

Billie decamped in 1774, during the Revolution. Twenty-five years later, slaves with his aptitude resorted to a more drastic form of resistance because, as Mullin argues, they saw "that regardless of /their/ comparatively privileged position, and the whites' efforts to ameliorate slavery, the institution would survive and grow." This realization may account for the pessimism and desperation in the words of one of Gabriel's confederates, King, who said: "We are all alive as yet, looking hard at the bacon, but can't get at it, as we are doing what we can." To Gabriel, King, and their comrades, freedom was the bacon maddeningly out of reach to them individually and to all blacks collectively, and rebellion became the last resort as a way out of what had become an intolerable marginal status.

Mullin's study is extremely brief, considering the importance of his theses (163 pages of text exclusive of notes), and at times the cited evidence does not adequately support his more sweeping conclusions, but Flight and Rebellion is a most welcome addition to the literature of slavery. Mullin made imaginative and effective use of the mass of slave mini-biographies contained in the runaway notices of the Virginia Gazettes, an underexploited source of information that can yield much information if used sensibly. Mullin also makes tangible the slaves themselves, reducing the usually undifferentiated concept of "slaves" to class categories by criteria of nativity, experience, and task assignment.

Men and women, rather than characters in a morality play or faceless spear carriers in some great tragic opera, begin to emerge from the mass of black slaves.

Mullin also sees slavery as a dynamic institution, and one that in eighteenth century Virginia was comparatively loose and unstructured, and poorly policed at that. It changed over time, responded to crises generated by its own internal contraditions, and was adapted to the economic and social conditions of the society that it informed. Slavery undoubtedly moulded all the other elements of Virginia's history, but it was moulded by them too.

Gabriel's was not the only slave uprising of the eighteenth century. Others occurred in the British colonies, and for every actual or incipient rebellion, whites invented others that existed only in their uneasy imaginations and consciences. Such apparently was the so-called "Negro Plot" of mid-century New York (1741). More than two hundred years later, the Negro Plot seems to have been a shimmering fantasy generated by the overworked fears and guilt feelings of white New Yorkers. Yet it is this fantastic quality, as much as any of the real or fictive incidents of the Plot, that tells us so much about race relations in this northern and economically advanced colony.

The essence of the Plot as seen by affrighted whites was summarized in the title of the original edition of a book compiled to convince Yorkers that the Plot actually took place. It was "the Conspiracy formed by Some White People, in Conjunction with Negro and other Slaves, for Burning the City of New-York in America, and Murdering the Inhabitatns, which Conspiracy was partly put in Execution, by Burning his Majesty's House in Fort George, . . .and setting Fire to several Dwelling and other Houses there, within a few Days succeeding." This book, the principal source on the whole affair, is a compilation of trial notes, confessions, summaries of interrogations and depositions, and similar quasi-judicial material. Scholars have traditionally attributed it to Daniel Horsmanden, a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, the trial court for all the white defendants and most of the black ones. Until recently, this was a rare volume: only a few copies of the 1744 (New York and London) editions exist in the United States, and the second (1810) edition is not much more plentiful. For this reason, Beacon Press' decision to reprint the compilation under the title The New York Conspiracy is most welcome, especially since this new edition is not a photo-duplication of the original but rather a freshly composed book. Its paperback printing at only $2.95 will make it readily available to a wide readership, hopefully including undergraduates in black studies programs. Though the editor, Thomas J. Davis, provided a disappointingly brief, pedestrian, and unenlightening introduction, his index, chiefly of personal names, is a useful thread through the maze of testimony. Davis notes correctly that a thorough modern study of this fascinating episode is badly needed, especially in view of scholars' general neglect of it. For several reasons, one of them being the plethora of recent state trials, such a study could scarcely be more timely.

The winter of 1740-41 had been unusually severe, and the Yorkers were in a state of unease because of a then-current imperial war with Spain. On 18 March 1741, fire destroyed part of King's House. This was followed in the next few weeks by several other fires, some of which were accompanied by

robberies, and the populace began to suspect a "combination of villains," though these were not necessarily black. On 5 April, a black slave named Quaco was heard to say "Fire, Fire, Scorch, Scorch, a Little, damn it, By-and-by," perhaps the eighteenth century equivalent of "Burn, Baby, Burn." This inopportune but ambiguous remark turned the inchoate popular suspicions toward the blacks generally, and these suspicions were confirmed in the next few days when another fire broke out next to property owned by a white who had bought as a slave a Spanish non-white who claimed to have been a free man. This incident triggered a mob outburst: "There was a cry among the people, 'the Spanish negroes; the Spanish negroes; take up the Spanish negroes.' " On the same day, a slave named Cuffee was seen running from another suspicious fire. A white cried "a negro; a negro," and, in Horsmanden's words, "that was soon improved into an alarm, that the negroes were rising." This it seems, is the entire factual (as opposed to testimonial) basis on which thirteen blacks were burned alive at the stake, eighteen blacks and four whites were hanged, and scores of blacks, as well as a handful of whites, were deported. The savagery of white retaliation - nowhere else in our past, to my knowledge, were a dozen blacks burnt by court order - makes the Negro Plot stand out among other real or putative uprisings. By contrast, white reaction to Gabriel's Rebellion, though severe, was measured and controlled.

The implication of the three blacks caused the whites to panic, and they began jailing blacks indiscriminately. The City Council and the Recorder, "taking notice of the several fires which had lately happened in this city and the manner of them, the frequency of them, and the causes being yet undiscovered, must necessarily conclude, that they were occasioned and set on foot by some villainous confederacy of latent enemies amongst us; but with what intent or purpose, time must discover." To men in the grip of this conspiracy syndrome, all that was lacking was some spectacular explanation implicating plausible villains to release the forces of terrified reaction. This explanation came two weeks later from Mary Burton, a psychological type often met with in episodes of mass hysteria. Mary was a sixteen year old indentured white servant of John and Sarah Hughson, innkeepers and alleged fences for a ring of black burglars. Mary, whom rumor said had been gotten pregnant by a former master, lied unabashedly in her testimony, apparently under the influence at first of the stick of fear and later the carrot of £100 reward offered informants. Her story was so fantastic that it rivals the accounts of Titus Oates and Maria Monk. She told an investigating grand jury that blacks who congregated illegally at her master's house "in their common conversation...used to say, that when all this was done [i.e., when New York had been burned] Caesar [a black slave] should be governor, and Hughson, her master, should be king." Nor was that all; Cuffee, who also hung around the Hughsons', turned out in Mary's account to be a do-it-yourself socialist: "Cuffee used to say, that a great many people had too much, and others too little; that his old master had a great deal of money, but that, in a short time, he should have less, and that he (Cuffee) should have more." Listening to Mary, the grand jury and other whites concluded that the conspiracy was principally one of the blacks', but that there must have been white "first movers and seducers" in the background, and the hunt was on for suspicious whites.

Meanwhile the orgy of judicial murder went on. Negroes were tried, con-

demned, and executed en masse, the first two in what turned out to be a lynching, and others sometimes seemingly pour encourager les autres. Hughson and his wife went to the gallows, along with Peggy Salingburgh Kerry, alias "the Newfoundland Irish beauty," a white prostitute who allegedly was Caesar's trull and whom Horsmanden accordingly referred to sarcastically as the lady of the governor-designate. Evidence proliferated as blacks testified against other blacks, but it was Mary again who provided the most bizarre detail of the entire Plot. During the trials, the unseen but hovering presence of the Catholic Spanish enemy persisted, and probably accounted for the execution of a group of Spanish non-whites - the "Spanish negroes" mentioned earlier - whose only crime seems to have been their national origin. Then on 24 June, a school-teacher named John Ury was arrested on suspicion of being a disguised Catholic priest. Mary Burton, contradicting her earlier testimony, obligingly implicated him too as part of the Hughson group, and later claimed that he had baptised several blacks in the Romish faith. Unfortunately for Ury, James Oglethorpe had written from Georgia two months earlier, warning that Catholic priests would come to the northern colonies disguised as dancing-masters and physicians, to burn the English cities so as to prevent expeditions from being raised for Caribbean service. Thus it did not help Ury that one of the languages he taught in his school was Latin. In the end, the community's hatred/fear of blacks, Catholics, and Spaniards prevailed, and Ury was hanged, protesting his innocence till the rope cut him off.

The whole bizarre affair came to an end when Mary became incredible, even to the gullible Horsmanden, in her testimony, implicating persons "of known credit, fortunes and reputation." She was given her £100, and dropped out of sight. Horsmanden explained away her final inconvenient disclosures by stating that she had been prevailed upon by some conspiring Papists, who were abetted by some slaveowners whose avarice outweighed their patriotism (they feared losing slaves who might be implicated in the Plot). She accordingly made ex-disclosures at the Papists' behest to discredit her former testimony. It seems never to have occurred to Horsmanden that he had become as fantastic as Mary in contriving tortured explanations to support the phantasm of a Papist-black Plot.

To call the Plot a phantasm, though, is to assume the answer to the principle question it poses us: was there really a conspiracy? What Horsmanden said in 1744 is still true today: "It was a dark design, and the veil is in some measure still upon it." Even if no blacks at all planned the firing of the city, the Plot remains an instructive incident of mass hysteria, and its elucidation could tell us much about how masses of men react to frustrating fears and feelings of guilt that they cannot avow publically in a healthy way.

These three books in their differing ways tell us much about the British slave societies of the eighteenth century. As supplements to Winthrop Jordan's White Over Black, they tell us much about the early years of our multi-racial societies in North America.

BOOK REVIEWS

Abbott, Richard H. Cobbler in Congress: The Life of Henry Wilson, 1812-1825. University of Kentucky Press. $13.50. 289 p. photographs, bibliography, index.

McKay, Ernest. Henry Wilson, Practical Radical: Portrait of a Politician. Kennikat. $11.00. 262 p. photographs, bibliography, index.

By Alvin R. Sunseri, Assistant Professor of History,
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At a seminar directed by T. Harry Williams, the observation was made by this reviewer, after months of study, that a biography of Henry Wilson was badly needed as he had lived too long in the shadow of Charles Sumner, the other senator from Massachusetts. Indeed, as Thurlow Weed noted, "The country will always overestimate Sumner, I think, though I dislike to say it. Wilson was more useful than Sumner, though not so cultured."

For Wilson, senator, vice-president, constitutional abolitionist, and author of The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, and the subject of two recent biographies by Ernest McKay and Richard H. Abbott, was all but forgotten by historians of the middle period. And when reference was made to him it was usually in disparaging terms, as is evident in David Donald's biography of Sumner.

As these biographers show, however, Wilson was a political figure to be respected, and while not a "great man", certainly was an important one. Acting as a practical politician with humanitarian ideals, he led the fight against the slave power from his base in Massachusetts and in the process, as one wag observed, "changed parties (Whig, Free Soil, Know Nothing, Republican) like some people change socks." Elected to the Senate in 1856, Wilson carried the battle for freedom of blacks to Washington. In the process he introduced a fantastic number of bills grating greater freedom to blacks. As Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, he also sponsored over sixty important measures that definitely affected the outcome of the Civil War. Unfortunately, neither McKay nor Abbott appreciate the full extent of Wilson's accomplishments as a war leader in the Senate. He also fought for black suffrage and woman suffrage in the District of Columbia, and he was not satisfied until peonage was abolished in New Mexico. Again, both biographers fail to sufficiently note the importance of this latter accomplishment.

The son of a drunkard, Wilson was a "rags to riches" type who served as a model for Horatio Alger's heroes. Tragically, he, the son of a drunkard, who was a leader of the temperance movement in Congress, saw his only son die as a twenty year old alcoholic. Elected Vice President in 1872, Wilson spent his last years writing The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, a book which many historians have borrowed from in the opinion of this reviewer.

Neither work is a great biography although both are well balanced treatments containing candid appraisals of the role of Henry Wilson restoring him to his rightful place in history. There is one additional complaint, however, to be made. McKay fails to include in his bibliography Daniel J. Loubert's excellent unpublished dissertation that covers the early career of Wilson from his birth until he went to Washington in 1856. Such a fault is inexcusable. Both books, however, should be read by historians of the period and those interested in Black history.

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Boulware, Marcus Hanna. The Oratory of Negro Leaders: 1900-1968. Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1969. xxiv, 290 p. Appendices, bibliography, index. $12.00.

By Abraham Davis, Jr., Professor of Speech, Ph.D.,
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As an Afro-American rhetorician, oral interpreter of black rhetoric and literature, and college professor, I was intellectually and psychologically stimulated and fascinated by Professor Boulware's unique history and criticism of Afro-American public address.

"Unique" seems to be an apt description of this overdue history and analysis, not only because its author claims it as "the first history of Negro oratory in the United States during the twentieth century," but because even in March of 1972, at the writing of this review, the writer and teacher of "Black Rhetoric" has not seen nor heard of another such concise yet comprehensive work to surpass it.

Mr. Alex Haley, the writer of the "Foreword" of this book, is sound in his declaration that "this book is needed not only by students of rhetoric and oratory, but also by students of history." They should discover uncommon historical data and rhetorical insights in the extremely broad representation of black orators ranging from the periods of Booker T. Washington, E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey to those of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Whitney Young, Jr. Between and within these periods an impressive number of lettered and unlettered black orators spoke out from a variety of platforms: Paul Roberson from the concert stage; Mordecai W. Johnson and Benjamin E. Mays from black institutions of higher learning; James W. Johnson (also a writer and professor of creative literature), Walter White, and Roy Wilkins from NAACP; Mary McLeod Bethune, Belle Hendon, Lillian W. Smith, Sadie Mossell Alexander, Mary C. Terrell, Charlotte H. Brown, Mabell Fuller, Gloria Richardson, and Ruby Hurley from the female population of speakers; J. Finley Wilson from "Fraternal Oratory"; Oscar S. DePriest, Arthur W. Mitchell, William Dawson, Roscoe C. Simmons, Patrick B. Prescott, Archibald J. Carey, Jr., and Adam C. Powell, Jr., from the political arena; Fred L. Shuttleworth, Robert Williams, James Farmer, and Medgar Evers from "The New Revolt Period, 1954-1965";

A. Philip Randolph and others from labor; and a number of orators from church pulpits plus speakers from various cults (Elder Solomon Michaux, Father Divine, Prophet Jones, and Elijah Muhammed of the Black Muslins). This partial list of names give some indication of the wide range of oratory from the black culture. Mr. Haley in the "Forward" rightly observes that Dr. Boulware "offers a wider range of oratory and orators than have hitherto been recognized." This fact is another piece of evidence supporting the uniqueness of the book.

In the "Preface" the author describes his investigation of two volumes of the History and Criticism of American Public Address, edited by W. N. Brigance and "prepared under the auspices of the Speech Association of America [now the Speech Communication Association]," and found only one chapter of rhetorically analysis on one Afro-American, Booker T. Washington. This reviewer examined all three volumes of that extensive work and discovered the same appalling result. Even though the author's one volume history focuses on the oratory of Negro leaders, he does not ignore or neglect the oratory of Caucasian leaders. At the very beginning and throughout his chapter three on 'Historical Background," Professor Boulware directs his analysis toward the "six presidents" who he thinks "dominated the affairs of the United States since 1900." Throughout his book, the author gives credit where credit is due to Caucasians. For example, in Chapter One he refers to Wendell Phillips as the "antislavery proponent, who was the first orator of note to employ the conversational style of platform speaking...to the highest power" (p. 2); then in Chapter Four on the "Era of Booker T. Washington," he describes Washington's platform delivery as "conversational" and again credits Wendell Phillips with being the forerunner of this style (p. 49). As a final example of the author's objective attitude reflected in his Negro history, one can note in Chapter Seventeen concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., that the names of Caucasians are not excluded as "speakers who were headliners" (p. 252). Consonant with Mr. Haley in the "Foreword" of this book, this reviewer shares the same recognition that in one form or another, "black oratory has been the keel of the black experience" in the United States in this century as well as in the former one. His modern observation seems like an extension of an ancient one by Isocrates about 400 B.C. who concluded that "none of the things which are done with intelligence are done without the aid of speech." More specifically, Dr. Boulware reports that "the eloquent Negro speaker has long been in existence," and follows it up with the quotation: "The Negro is peculiarly gifted as an orator..." (p. 8). The author, nevertheless, fails not to report the facts that a number of Negro speakers are "dull" (p. 231), and "so far as the Negro is concerned generally, there is little emphasis upon training in public speaking...." (p. 232).

By admitting in his "Preface" that "this history is not exhaustive," Professor Boulware has tempered the criticism of his exclusion of the oratory of Stokely Carmichael on "Black Power," Julian Bond of the Georgia legislature, and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr. It seems, however, that he might have included more than two "Full-Text Speeches" by more than one eminent black orator, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (pp. 258-275). The black professor, Dr. Arthur L. Smith, includes six "full-text speeches" in his book, Rhetoric of Black Revolution which is only about one-half the size of The Oratory of Negro Leaders: 1900-1968. (Smith's book was published in 1969, by Allyn and Bacon, Inc. of Boston.)

One could dim the focus on the big objective of this volume by elaborating on such peripheral variables as the author's continual references to voice manipulation - even "nasal resonators' in one place - as a requisite in the persuasive process, and his repeated association of the reputable evangelist, Billy Graham, with the term "circus" (pp. 200, 242). These variables are miniscules in the light of the greater and more noble objectives achieved by Professor Boulware in this much needed history of oratory. His careful and patient research has provided abundant "materials on Negro oratory" in contrast to the "paucity of materials on Negro oratory in [white American] histories" (p. xviii). We need more of this research on other periods.

Besides the attribute of uniqueness, other qualities of the book are apparent, even to the high school senior: it is concise, historically and rhetorically informative and critical, clearly organized, abundantly documented, stylistically lucid, conveniently spaced and printed for rapid reading. Apparent characteristics to the professor and curriculum administrator are the author's attempts to be rather objective and professionally challenging - implicit, for example, in the concluding quotations:

> "...effective public speaking is one of the gateways to leadership." (p. xiv)
>
> "Like their white counterparts, the Negro Congressmen of this period ["The New Revolt Period, 1954-1965"], with few exceptions, are dull speakers." (p. 231)
>
> "So far as the Negro is concerned generally, there is little emphasis upon training in public speaking and debating. This is a challenge to our educational institutions...." (p. 232)

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Cunz, Dieter. The Maryland Germans: a History. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press. 1972. 478 p. Index, bibliography, map, illustrations. $17.50.

By Sally M. Miller, Associate Professor of History,
University of the Pacific, Stockton, California

The reprinting of The Maryland Germans by Dieter Cunz is a welcome event in immigration historiography. This study forms part of what the author calls " the necessary spadework" for the comprehensive immigration history for which we still wait, a quarter of a century after Cunz' remark. Monographs on various ethnic groups and their roles in local historical development are appearing in greater numbers, but until more work is available in this area, a full and balanced history of immigration is impossible.

Maryland has been one of the pivotal states in American history due to its straddling of the Mason-Dixon line, a factor of crucial significance especially

in the nineteenth century. The German population of Maryland has played a disproportionately important role in the history of the state, and therefore The Maryland Germans has value far beyond local history. Inevitably, the chapter on the ante-bellum and Civil War years becomes the most interesting section of the book.

German immigrants arrived in the New World in the seventeenth century, settling first in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and then in Maryland. By the nineteenth century their numbers made them the most important non-English speaking group in the United States. Most of them were economically ambitious farmers and artisans who lived along the northern shore of the Ohio River and in the Great Lakes Region and, those who had not wandered far from the Atlantic coast, in Maryland.

Germans opened Western Maryland to European settlement in the 1730s, and were responsible for the founding of the towns of Frederick and Hagerstown. Most of these early settlers were church-oriented farmers who lived in isolated communities. However, even before the American Revolution, the English language crept into their society and their children married Anglo-Saxons, pointing toward the triumph of assimilation over ethnicity. In Baltimore, the other focal point in Maryland for German immigrants, distinctiveness endured for another century and a half. Baltimore saw its first German residents appear a dozen years after the birth of the city in 1729. By mid-century, most of its redemptioners were German, as were many of its merchants, craftsmen, and earliest manufacturers.

The eighteenth century Germans were politically inactive, due to their lack of political experience, their unfamiliarity with the language, and their reluctance to participate in the difficult process of naturalization. The American Revolution introduced them to politics, their involvement partially explained by the classic desire of immigrants to demonstrate their patriotism to their adopted nation. The 1770s marked the entrance of the Maryland Germans into state and local politics, but not until the era of the Civil War were the masses of German immigrants engulfed by national issues.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Germans outside of Baltimore became increasingly assimilated, while within the city the Germans, aided by a stream of immigrants, began to build an ethnic institutional structure. In addition to their work in the influential German Society of Maryland, which shaped local government's policies toward immigrants, the Germans built schools, clubs, associations, and an ethnic press. With the coming of the forty-eighters, whose numbers Cunz properly refrains from exaggerating, German voters began to be weaned from the Democratic Party to which most were aligned. Abolitionist sentiment, based on economic or humanitarian considerations, such as expressed by the Turners and by Der Wecker, the only Republican newspaper in Maryland, led to mob violence against German institutions. While not all Germans in the state were Unionists, the counties most hostile to secession were those with the largest German settlements. Germans formed a surprisingly high proportion among Marylanders who served in the Union Army. Representative of the most southern outpost of the Republican Party, the Germans helped prevent Maryland from joining the Confederacy.

Between the Civil War and World War I, the German-American culture of Baltimore flowered, as it did in other cities with large German populations. Heavily stimulated by the virulent nativism of the fifties, self-isolation led to a comprehensive ethnic institutional network which peaked in the nineties and then weakened due to the drying up of the flow of immigration from Germany. The structure of German-American society across the country collapsed during the Great War. With acclimatization no longer delayed, the German-American phenomenon soon ceased to exist.

This study manages to maintain an objectivity not traditionally associated with histories of nationality groups. However, despite the author's acknowledged desire to omit catalogues of individuals and their contributions, he falls into that trap occasionally. His chatty, anecdotal style, while enhancing the book's interest, leans toward narration rather than analysis. In fact, the major weakness of the book is its lack of a strong conceptual framework. The author avoids sociological analysis in a topic that demands such an approach, and the dearth of statistics sometimes leaves the reader in a facuum. Nevertheless, the author's research has been thorough. In the colonial period, he depends upon church records as almost the only source material extant, which undoubtedly somewhat distorts our understanding of the German settler, but after the Revolutionary era, the author successfully mines records of German associations, newspapers, and other organizations in order to provide us with a comprehensive history of a major nationality group in a key American state.

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Davis, Edwin Adams, and William Ransom Hogan (eds.). The Barber of Natchez. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press (1972 reprint of 1954 edition published by Louisiana State University Press). pp. xiv +272. No index. Illustrated. $11.00.

By Herman Hattaway, Professor of History, University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri

A black man of culture, intelligence, and accomplishment, William Johnson - the "barber of Natchez" - kept a truly remarkable antebellum diary. Spanning the years from 1835 to 1851, the diary has been called, perhaps justly, "the most unusual personal record ever kept in the United States." (p. 4). Davis and Hogan have utilized this diary as the major source for constructing an incisive biographical study of certainly a fascinating if also possibly a unique type of antebellum free black.

Edwin Adams Davis, pioneer archivist and Southern historian, and the late William Ransom Hogan discovered Johnson's diary in 1938, after years of searching "for historical traces of a man of his racial, economic, and social

status - a literate free Negro, who lived during the ante-bellum regime and kept a record of contemporary activities as well as some of his own opinions and beliefs." (p. 12). Adams, who then headed Louisiana State University's archives, persuaded the Johnson heirs to sell the diary to LSU for $3,000. Hogan and Davis then spent much of their scholarly careers studying and editing it, and publishing articles and books based upon its contents. In 1951 they produced William Johnson's Natchez - nearly 800 printed pages of the edited diary, and in 1954 they completed the volume presently under review.

Although without footnotes, the book shows a depth of painstaking research. Obviously sympathetic to Johnson, the book nevertheless appears to be a genuinely objective treatment. Davis and Hogan corroborated Johnson's statements with other documents and with newspaper accounts, looking carefully at what the barber had to say and evaluating it in a historical light, often confirming or modifying generalizations about Southern history. And they infer from some of the material that certain previous historiographical interpretations are erroneous.

The most significant controversial viewpoints concern the nature and motivation of blacks who owned slaves and the harshness of life under slavery. Johnson owned slaves and worked them - both in his barbershop and as laborers on his plantation, and his "Negro blood did not deter him from using severe measures in disciplining." (p. 67). He "accepted and used the labor system as he found it," and his "slaveholding was not the 'act of benevolence'" which some modern historians believe was the case with free Negro slaveholders. Johnson did not consider slaves remotely to be his equals and he never became familiar with any people over whom he felt superior. Yet he was not an inhumane master, and his diary reveals that his, and other Natchez slaves as well, enjoyed numerous pleasures such as parties and occasional trips to the theater. Even in the later antebellum period, when laws become more strict, "in actual practice ... individual slaves in Natchez were sometimes allowed a status approaching that of freedom." (p. 243).

And Johnson's own condition of freedom was nearly literal. His barbershop was "the town's leading business house of its type," and "was for forty years one of the vital institutions through which ebbed much of the everyday life of Natchez." (p. 30). Here Johnson prospered, eventually becoming "the master of about two dozen Negroes and the employer of a few whites," where incidentally he ran an apprentice system which constituted "the only educational institution then available for many free Negro and poor white children." (p. 54). Always anxious to turn a profit, Johnson gradually became involved in more and more enterprises and in frequent contacts with whites. Although sometimes discriminated against because of his color, Johnson actually was barred from only three activities: voting, holding any public office - including jury duty, and militia training. Otherwise, even the later laws "regulating free Negroes were never enforced against those with considerable property," such as Johnson held. (p. 243).

Unquestionably there was a color line, although it sometimes hazed and became almost invisible. Some whites treated Johnson "as an equal, or very nearly an equal," (p. 95), but the irony here is that Johnson himself was

superior to many whites. His children were sent to private tutors and schools, he owned and read dozens of books, magazines, and newspapers, members of the family studied art and music - Johnson himself played the violin. Yet one thing Johnson could never change: the color of his skin. Like William E. B. DuBois, in a later era, Johnson believed that if he maintained high standards in every respect then someday the whites would realize the stupidity of prejudice. For Johnson, that day never came. Ane like DuBois, it made him "more than a trifle bitter." (p. 103).

But Johnson never became a broken man. He relished competition - a real key to his character - and he never lost his "insatiable, restless straining" (p. 217), to become more affluent. Further, he consistently took an active part in civic activities such as firefighting, and he zestfully joined in leisure endeavors like the theater and horse racing. Thus Johnson is a compellingly interesting subject, and this eminently readable biography of him is highly recommended.

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Gatewood, Willard B., Jr. Smoked Yankees and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902. University of Illinois Press. Urbana. 1971. 328 p. $9.50.

By William G. Rector, Department of History,
University of Wisconsin, Platteville, Wisconsin

The role of the black soldier in the history of the American army has been investigated for most of our wars and the entertainment media has publicized the "Buffalo Soldiers" of the Indian fighting army. However, the black soldier in the Spanish-American War and its aftermath has been given as little attention as the war itself. Many people are aware that the 9th and 10th Cavalry were at the Battle of San Juan Hill, but they know this because Teddy Roosevelt, the Rough Riders, and their coterie of newsmen were also there. The accounts of the Rough Riders in Cuba had to mention the black cavalrymen, and they did in a parenthetical way.

The author has combined two different writing techniques to develop a volume that is both unique and illuminating. The bulk of the volume could be described as a documentary account. This part consists of 114 letters written by black servicemen. Of these letters, only five came from sources other than Negro newspapers of the period. The letters are grouped together in five major chapters and the author has written an illuminating forward for each chapter. These five essays stand on their own as fine examples of historical writing as the author probes the black servicemen, his contributions, and his problems.

If one would analyze each sentence in these letters and computerize his

data he would probably find that somewhere between two-thirds and three-fourths of these sentences could well have been written by any literate soldier regardless of color. These sentences describe, explain, and complain in the timeless fashion of soldiers everywhere. A significant minority of the sentences are different. These sentences deal in whole or in part with the circumstances attached to the fact that the writer was black in color.

When the war started there were only four regiments of black soldiers in the regular army, and most governors refused to muster black militia units into service when the first presidential call for volumteers was issued. In only three states, Alabama, Ohio, and Massachusetts, were a limited number of blacks allowed to volumteer for federal service. When the president issued a second call for volunteers public opinion and political pressures induced the governors of five states to raise black regiments and three of these, the Eighth Illinois, Twenty-third Kansas, and Third North Carolina, even had black officers. In other black regiments the combination of black soldier and white officer was the general rule.

The American Negro volunteered enthusiastically for service when given the chance. He had a dream that after he had proved himself to be a patriotic American in war he would gain his share of the American dream. When he was mustered out of service he returned to a nation that was accelerating segregation and one of the rewards earned by the black soldier in the Philippines was the proliferation of "white only" restaurants and barbershops. Hope turned to despair. Meanwhile, many black soldiers in the Philippines began to question American imperialism, as were other Americans, and some soldiers tended to identify themselves with the colored Filipinos. In some ways the "Smoked Yankees," as the Spanish called them, were caught up in the same tension and ambivalence as the black grunt in Viet Nam.

Near Macon, Georgia, in 1898, black soldiers of the Sixth Virginia Infantry saw a park that had signs reading "No Niggers and Dogs Allowed in Here." It is interesting to note that soldiers read signs in Salinas, California, in 1941 which stated, "Dogs and Dogfaces, Keep Off the Grass." Down through American history there seems to have been a tendency for part of the American public to equate soldiers with canines. The term "Dogface," however, does carry a certain dignity. The term "Nigger" does not.

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Haller, John S. Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971. 228 p. $7.50.

By Jerry E. Green, Department of Geography,
University of Wisconsin, Platteville, Wisconsin

Scientific "proof" of racial inferiority as it reached the general public and

in turn helped to substantiate the popular concepts and social structure of the times constitutes the major focus of Mr. Haller's work.

Cast within the framework of evolution and racial distinction based on supposed "evolutionary qualities" the general approach seeks to understand and present the influence of such carryover from science to society. As is pointed out, such academic and scientific backing for what were widespread attitudes molded beliefs that have contributed to our modern problems of racial comparisons.

Beginning with a brief review of racial classification based on such features as head shape and cephalic index, particular attention is given to work by the United States Government on black soldiers during the American Civil War. Subsequent attention is given to two bodies of scientific opinion which played major roles in the development of opinions regarding race, evolution and the Negro: that of the physicians and the anthropoligists. From the perspective of the academic community, the two chapters that were most interesting were those dealing first with Herbert Spencer and secondly, academic thinking on race. The latter, in particular, is useful in completing the portrait of several men better known, perhaps, for their contribution to fields not generally regarded as having racial implications.

Special note should perhaps be made regarding the bibliography. Written in the form of a bibliographical essay, it has both its merits and drawbacks. The essay form allows commentary which should be useful; however, it does make the finding of specific references somewhat difficult. Moreover, for the newcomer to this kind of reference entry, it may be difficult to determine if all footnoted sources are also contained in the bibliography or if they should be treated as separate source material. A brief comment in this regard would be useful either in the preface or at the beginning of the bibliography itself.

Altogether, the book is quite readable and should be given attention, especially by those whose training might not otherwise acquaint them with the role that "science" has played in attempting to address the matter of race in the United States. It furthermore emphasizes the dangers to be encountered when "science" is used to verify that which is desired to be substantiated rather than in the attempt to arrive at objective reality.

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Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press. 178 p. Index, bibliography, $6.50.

By Ephraim Fischoff, Departments of Sociology
and Communication, University of Wisconsin,
Stevens Point, Wisconsin

In his lively Foreword Professor Edwin S. Gaustad, the historian of religion in America, notes that WASP does not encompass all white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, but only those "who have arrived socially and economically" and whose Protestantism has often - in the course of this arriving - "diminished or departed." This volume deals with a significant number of American Protestants in the southern states who are themselves dispossessed and exploitable minorities - namely certain minor southern sects which are for the most part lower class as to socio-economic position. These "redneck" sects and cults have their own crises - "not of theology, authority or 'suburban captivity' - but of poverty, ignorance, shrill defensiveness, lonely irrelevance, emotional turbulence and impotent futility," - which are not unexpected stigmata of minority status.

On the basis of the tendency toward stereotypization one would expect the poor minor sects of the southland to be at the extreme of backwardness and reaction, at least with respect to the racial issue. Surprisingly, Dr. Harrell, on evidence derived from a careful examination of the precepts and activities of such minor sects as Free Will Baptist, Cumberland Presbyterian, Church of God of Apostolic Faith, New Testament Holiness Church, Church of God of the Mountain Assembly Inc., A. A. Allen Revival Movement, Assembly of God, and Church of Christ, comes to a somewhat different conclusion. These theologically conservative and economically disprivileged sects, whose numbers are increasing, are frequently exposed to forced mixing of the races, because of their negatively privileged class status. This may result in violent reactions which would tend to perpetuate the extant stereotypes of racism. Admittedly, therefore such conservative and reactionary trends to exist among these sect members and the developments following World War II in the direction of ameliorated civil rights e.g., the school desegregation decision in 1954 and the various campaigns and strategies emanating from Dr. King, elicited angry and bitter warnings regarding "the curse of Ham," the alleged threat of impending intermarriage and the Communist bogey.

On the other hand, other voices were heard counseling tolerance, patience and the implementation of Christian love. The effect of such trends actually strengthened the integration of certain churches and fostered an increase of efforts to evangelize blacks, with the International Ministerial Association demanding involvement and social justice by its ministers, and Life in the Spirit sending its workers to northern urban ghettos. Harrell adopts the judgment of such sociological observers as Davis, Dollard, Warner, Rubin, and Rudolph that the poor whites from the south do not all have primarily racist attitudes, and just as they are apt to exhibit disregard for established mores and exhibit deviations of behavior in regard to drink and sex, so too in regard to a more permissive attitude toward mixing of whites and blacks. Examples would be the preaching of Oral Roberts and Jack Coe to mixed audiences, the customary practice of the Church of God of Prophecy which does not segregate congregations in assemblies and concepts, and that of the Church of God (Jerusalem Acres) which has twenty mixed congregations and free privilege of pulpit exchange among the black and white ministers of the denomination. In the Church of Christ at the upper end of the class structure, which because of its affluence and respectability approximates a middle class denomination, segregationists are balanced increasingly by proponents of moderate and even liberal views. "Of course southern poor whites are not

without racial prejudice but they do exist in an interracial society and they do maintain with southern blacks a personal relationship peculiar to their class in southern society. They are furthermore indifferent to the pressure to conform. The result is a fascinating level of interracial communion in the South." It is, therefore, the author's contention that the boldest challenges to southern racial taboos have not come from middle class denominationalism but from the more extreme forms of sect and cult religion in the south.

The existence of interracial sects in the South had already been noted by Gunnar Myrdal in An American Dilemma but these phenomena had been interpreted as havens for the "curious and maladjusted." Harrell, as a sociologically oriented historian (cf, his Quest for a Christian America), seeks a more realistic judgment of radical sectarianism and so follows Liston Pope in his interpretation of the social thrust of non-conformist religion. "The sect in summary represents a reaction cloaked at first in purely religious guise against both religious and economic institutions. Overtly, it is a protest against the failure of religious institutions to come to grips with the needs of marginal groups, existing unnoticed on the fringes of cultural and social organization."

Dr. Harrell, chairman of the Department of History at the University of Alabama in Birmingham, has provided a useful study of southern sectarianism based on familiarity with the sectarian journal literature, including a sampling of relatively obscure magazines and with considerable literature on American religion especially as it touches southern and American race problems. Noteworthy is his familiarity with the most significant relevant sociological material and the general foundations of the sociology of religion. A valuable bibliographical essay concludes the volume.

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Heizer, Robert F., and Almquist, Alan J. The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920. Verkeley: University of California Press, 1971. viii - 278 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. $7.95.

By Abraham Hoffman, Curator, Western History Collections, Assistant Professor of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma

The authors of this book have made an ambitious attempt to document a heritage of racism in California dating back to the eighteenth century. Their argument - to present "a social history of non-Anglo groups in California's past as illustrated by attitudes of prejudice and acts of discrimination directed against these groups" - is well supported by the many extensive quotations from contemporary letters, newspaper accounts, and court testimony. Indeed, the last fifth of the book is composed of a selection of documents referred to

in the narrative. Within the narrative itself the quotations appear frequently and often to some length, causing the book in many places to resemble a series of documents strung together with brief bits of narrative. As will be noted, this becomes more than just a problem of style.

The book serves an extremely important purpose in making the reader aware of the diverse elements in California's past. A historical presence is clearly established for the Indians, Californios, Chinese, Japanese, and blacks. It is also clearly established that these ethnic groups have been the targets of explotation and racism from Spanish colonization to the dominant Anglo-Americans who controlled the state after 1848. Discrimination was repeatedly fixed into law, first by the Spaniards and Mexicans against the Indians, and then by Anglo-Americans. Indian indenture, foreign miners' taxes, discriminatory legislation barring suffrage, and the activities of assorted exclusion leagues and nativist groups form a dismal recital of a shameful heritage. Heizer and Almquist claim their book serves as a corrective to the view of historians that racial prejudice has been an "unimportant" theme.

It is to be regretted that this book falls short of its promise. The simple fact of the matter is that it is less a history than a string of related documents, and the dearth of narrative has resulted in a surprising number of omissions, considering the thesis of the book. There is no mention of Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party and the anti-Chinese campaign of the late 1870s; no comparison of racist statements between the 1849 and 1879 constitutional conventions; no mention of the massacre of Chinese in Los Angeles in 1871; no reference to El Clamor Público, although the authors borrow heavily from Leonard Pitt; and nothing on the Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920. Missi ng from the bibliography are any number of recent articles on California minority groups published in Pacific Historical Review, Southern California Quarterly, or California Historical Quarterly. Considering the date of publication, such comments as the reference to Chicanos being unaware of their potential political power were already out of date.

Another handicap is the closing date of 1920, which seems to have little significance beyond the authors' arbitrary selection of that year. "We have not traced the history of discrimination beyond 1920," the authors state in their preface, "because after that time the situation becomes much more complex." But to do this creates historical discontinuities: the problems of Mexicans in California up to the Great Depression are traceable to events prior to 1920; the decision to exclude Japanese immigration in the 1924 Quota Act is a tale far more complex than the authors hint; little attempt is made to follow the various groups beyond the scope covered in topical chapters; and blacks receive cursory treatment at best. Moreover, it should be noted that the authors fail completely to consider Anglo-Americans within the historical perspective of the period in which the racist comments and discriminatory laws were made. They refer to the 49ers and military adventurers as "footloose riffraff," but they do not tell the reader of the later settlers who came as farmers and merchants. In addition to judging California's political leaders by a yardstick of racism, it may well be instructive to evaluate them by additional criteria. Such factors as sectional loyalties, economic interests, and local political problems must be studied in order to understand why so many unabashedly

racist statements were made by so many people. Although Peter H. Burnett is identified three times as a governor of California, no effort is made to learn why Burnett harbored racial prejudices. The authors themselves would have understood Burnett's motives better had they been aware of William E. Franklin's 1954 Stanford dissertation on Burnett or looked at the letters of Burnett pertaining to the Whitman massacre - located in the Bancroft Library, on the authors' home campus. To understand a heritage of racism we must realize that pre-1920 racism was no less complex than the post-1920 variety (if one accepts the authors' arbitrary dividing line).

These criticism only indicate the vast amount of necessary research that awaits the historian who would tackle the problems and contributions of ethnic groups in American history. The authors of this book (anthropologists, not historians) have pointed towards the road that must be traveled, and they have taken a few tentative steps along that road. Others must follow.

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Hixson, William B., Jr. Moorfield Storey and the Abolitionist Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. ix + 256 pp. Bibliographical essay and index. $8.75.

By Maurice M. Vance, Professor of History,
Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

Sixty years before significant numbers of Americans were becoming concerned about our military presence in Southeast Asia, Moorfield Storey, President of the Anti-Imperialist League, was denouncing our actions in the Philippines and urging our withdrawal from that phase of Asian involvement. Half a century before millions of Americans came to realize the need for legal measures to combat the many forms of discrimination against black Americans, Moorfield Storey, first President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was carrying their cause before the Supreme Court. Surely, one might think, here was a man ahead of his time; understandably, one might wonder if he was one of the radicals of the early twentieth century. Professor Hixson assures us that he was not. In many respects, Storey, Boston Brahmin, Harvard Trustee, corporation lawyer, President of the American Bar Association, was quite conservative. His crusading attitudes were the result of his early associations with such opponents of slavery as Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, and Charles Sumner. A major theme of this book is that Storey was the last of the abolitionists, and that if at times he seemed to be out of step with his fellow citizens it was not because he had caught the drumbeat of the future but because he was still following the drummers of his youth, in a day when the ideals of the abolitionists had been too much forgotten by busily expanding America. Less explicitly, the author suggests that Storey's career provides one of history's demonstrations that ideals and personal in-

fluences of past centuries often speak pertinently to present problems.

While this is a book about Storey, its material is not presented in the usual biographical episodic sequence, but more in a topical analytical pattern. In forty-two pages, the first chapter carries "The Making of a Reformer" through the first half-century of its subject's life. In a chapter of comparable length on "Anti-Imperialism" we are shown the Spanish-American War, the occupation of the Philippines and various Latin American nations, World War I and the fight over the League of Nations. We learn, not surprisingly, that Storey opposed our occupation of any of these countries and that he favored the League. The third and fourth chapters develop his work in race relations and related areas, and the final chapter summarizes the pertinence of "The Abolitionist Tradition" to Storey's career and the problems of the present century.

Within this organizational framework, our attention is drawn from one topic to another; the situation is sketched in, and then Storey is introduced and his relation to the matter demonstrated. For this reviewer's taste, there is too much topical background and too little Storey. Perhaps because the book is not organized around the continuous chain of events of the life of its subject, there are some curious omissions and imbalances. For example, although Storey was for many years a successful corporation lawyer, a fact which may have had some influence on some of his reform activities, his professional career is barely mentioned. In fact, the political operations of Benjamin F. Butler in Massachusetts are described more fully than Storey's contemporaneous legal activity. Perhaps more surprisingly is the lack of information about Storey's work as President of the NAACP. We are told why and how the Association came to be organized, that Storey attended one of its early meetings, and that in 1910 he became its first president. But why Storey? How he became associated with the movement in its formative months, and why he was selected as its first head, are never made clear. Perhaps there is no documentation to answer this question; the fact that neither Howe nor Kellogg* provides an explanation suggests this possibility. But what Storey contributed to the Association as its president, as distinguished from what he did publicly as an individual in the cause of better race relations, could well have been amplified, even if the account of the Conscience Whigs or ghe Mexican Revolution (for example) had been abbreviated in exchange. Of Storey's personality and temperament - which must have had some bearing on the influence which he could exert on others - we learn almost nothing.

Nevertheless, Hixson has made a significant contribution in presenting a fuller and clearer picture of Storey's reform activities than we have had before. Even though we might have hoped for a fuller portrait of its subject, this book is to be commended to anyone concerned with American imperialism or race relations.

*Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, Portrait of an Independent: Moorfield Storey, 1845-1929. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932. Charles Flint Kellogg, NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Vol. I, 1909-1920. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967.

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Knights, Peter R. The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in City Growth. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. xx + 204 pp. Tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, maps and index. $7.95.

By Dr. Robert J. Wechman, Assistant Professor of History and Coordinator of Urban Studies, Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York

Dr. Peter R. Knights, holder of a Ph.D. in American History from the University of Wisconsin, is presently Associate Professor of History at York University, Toronto, Canada. Professor Knights has made a very unique study of Boston's "plain people" during a selected period in ante-bellum America.

This volume, part of the Urban Life in America series is a study in what is now known as "quantitative history." The author uses modern statistical methods in studying the movements of a significant urban population. He has depended greatly on the socioeconomic classification scheme devised by Professor Stephan A. Thernstrom. Professor Knights in studying the city of Boston between 1830 and 1860 looks at the population trends, the sources of Boston's population, population mobility and redistribution, wealth trends in ante-bellum Boston and the out-migration from Boston during this period.

This work "aims to provide data which researchers dealing similarly with other cities or with urban theory may alter, amplify, use to build models, or discard, but, it is hoped, not neglect." Dr. Knights attempts to achieve his aim by reconstructing the life patterns of the "plain people" of Boston through the extensive use of federal and state population censuses, city directories, tax records, birth and death records, cemetary internment records, town and family histories.

Knights' study has shown the great extent to which Boston's growth was dependent upon the migration of peoples. All of Professor Knights' studies show the tremendous amount of mobility exhibited by the common person in Boston. One of the author's most interesting findings is that within every other year or so, up to one-half of the city's population "disappeared" from the city and was replaced by new migrants and new births. This demonstrates the enormous amount of turnover in population experienced by this New England metropolis in the thirty years preceeding the Civil War. The author's findings are contrary to those who think that mobility in America was the product of late nineteenth and twentieth century technology featured by the development of the railroad and the automobile. The instability of Boston between 1830 and 1860 is one of the central themes of this volume.

The author is very careful in making vast generalizations about Boston being a center of upward mobility. Through careful use of statistics he casts doubt upon the common assumption that nineteenth century American cities were foci of upward mobility. The point is made, softly but clearly, that upward

mobility in Boston was very slow and very difficult.

Professor Knights' study is a distinct contribution to the field of American urban history. However, one should be very careful in recommending this book to students who are initially being introduced to the area of American urban history. The extensive number of tables would most likely be a discouraging factor to them. This book will have its greatest value to advanced and graduate students of urban history who have the necessary background to fully appreciate the nature and value of a study such as this.

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Luebke, Frederick C. Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969.

By Robert R. Polk, Associate Vice President,
Academic Affairs, University of Wisconsin System,
Madison, Wisconsin

Majorities are only assimilated minorities as Luebke makes clear in this study of a German ethnic minority group in America's Middle West. As one would expect, German immigrants coming directly from the homeland retained a cohesiveness with old country friends, relatives and neighbors which was reflected to a degree in the voting habits of the ethnic group. With the passing of a generation, the divisions between ethnic groups blurred as children, the irresistible force for breaking down social barriers, matured, inter-married with Yankee, Bohemian, Scandinavian and British stock and moved into the 20th century as Americans.

The attempt of the author through exhaustive research to assess party preferences of the German communities in Nebraska is more rewarding to the student of method than to the seeker of clearly defined voting practices. As the author ventures his interpretive judgments based on his statistical correlations, one cannot but conclude that the emergent patterns appear more subtle of definition to the reader than they do to Dr. Luebke. Variations in patterns are pronounced and numerous although one can agree with the author that certain issues such as prohibition and women's suffrage bound the German groups together as a voting bloc.

Church affiliation was found by Luebke to be a greater factor in voting habits of German-speaking people in Nebraska than urban/rural residence, occupation, or wealth as expressed as value of farm property. The Nebraska Germans were apparently largely lower middle-class people drawn from occupations such as farming, skilled trades, and shopkeeping. This preoccupation with church, home and the land may well be why the Germans objected to women's suffrage. The thought that it would take the hausfrau away from "Kinder, Kuche and Kirche" resulted in votes in the election of 1882 of as much as 10:1 against

suffrage for women. The Germans were almost equally unenthusiastic about compulsory school legislation, Sabbath laws and taxes. Movements that could be construed to erode the place of the Lutheran or Catholic school, to deprive the good burger of his stein of beer or to take his hard-earned money to support some Junker in Lincoln or Washington were destined to failure in German communities.

While some might term this short treatise a "social analysis of political history," another might refer to it as an historically oriented study in political geography. The work will of course have limited appeal in the literary market of America because it is limited to the description of only two decades in the history of one ethnic group in one state. Nevertheless, for one who has interest in methodology such as an application of Charles Spearman's rank-difference formula, or one who wants to learn about Nebraska's Germans in terms of the ways in which they expressed their interests at the polls, this book has distinct value.

Read in the context of today's minority confrontations, it helps to give the reader perspective in that there is nothing that provides a better formula for solving social problems than time, mobility and affluence. The Germans of Nebraska are a merged, assimilated people in 1971 but vestiges of the inheritance from the Deutsch Volk will remain long after the last German-born person draws breath in the state.

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Morstad, Alexander E. The Reverend Erik Olsen Morstad: His Missionary Work Among the Wisconsin Pottawatomie Indians. Clearwater, Florida: Eldnar Press, 1971. iv + 75 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, and tables.

By David R. Wrone, Department of History,
University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point, Wisconsin

Good white men have been a basic problem the American Indian has faced in his struggle to achieve a decent life. This booklet concerns such a man, Erik O. Morstad (1860-1920), a Lutheran missionary and Norwegian immigrant who helped bring misery to the Forest County Potawatomie. Morstad appears to have been a good father who loved his family of eight children, worked long hours, suffered extreme poverty, and knew Potawatomie as well as several European languages. He spent much of his adult life ministering to Indians. There is nothing in his personal character that can be criticized. Only his public actions are at fault.

The Wisconsin Potawatomie, descendants of the tribal band who refused to move west following the disreputable Chicago treaty of 1833, lingered in the

forests of the state until 1880 when the expanding frontier gradually brought them into the white system. Refusing to kowtow to white federal policies forced upon them, they were impoverished, landless, and lacked the educational and economic skills to develop a stable life. Morstad established a mission about 1890 in the Wittenberg area where the Potawatomie lived near the Winnebago and later followed them to Forest County.

On behalf of the tribe, a group of Wisconsin attorneys aided by Morstad sued the federal government for money due them under the treaty of 1833. The author is unclear on how the lawsuit started, revealing his failure to consult the thousands of manuscript documents available in the Wisconsin State Historical Society library. The action being successful, Congress in 1913 appropriated 150,000 dollars for the purchase of land allotments and in 1916, 1917, 1919 and additional 200,000 collars. To the son of Erik Morstad, the award "was indeed a wonderful victory" obtained against "overwhelming odds on a project that seemed so hopeless." (p. 54)

Unfortunately the author ignores the well documented charges that the support of politicians who were solidly arrayed in defrauding and looting the tribes made the judgment possible. They made a good profit by dumping useless cut-over land on the Potawatomie and their unsuspecting missionary leader. In 1930, a Congressional Survey of Conditions of Indians (p. 1950) did not find "a single Indian who is making his living on one of these allotments." The Potawatomie were diseased, ill-housed, impoverished, doomed to an early death, and removed from public scrutiny.

As a Christian missionary Morstad worked against the Potawatomie in another way. As his son declares several times, conversion to Christianity could only be achieved by cracking the tribal structure of morals, religion, and customs and plucking one Indian at a time away from his heritage. To the extent Morstad was a good missionary, the Potawatomie band was destroyed.

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Norquest, Carrol. Rio Grande Wetbacks: Mexican Migrant Workers. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972. xiv +159 pp. No index, bibliography, or illustrations. One map. $4.95.

By M. R. Charles, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, Superior, Wisconsin

The title of the book is deceptive for a naive social scientist. I had assumed, before picking up the book, that it would be a well-documented, scholarly, pedantic (i.e., dull) description of the experience of illegal entrants from Mexico. The name of the publisher - a university press - also led me to this prejudgment. But I was mistaken. Outside the realm of the social sciences

there are other people who write about ethnic experiences, too, from a different perspective.

The author is a farmer. (Yes, a farmer.) He is an expeditious and at the same time somewhat humanistic farmer. Yearly he broke the law to hire wetbacks to help with his crops. At the same time he hired human beings and knew it. The book is an anecdotal reflection about his friends and employees, wetbacks. For those who enjoy short-short stories and vignettes, the book is crammed with them. For those who relish terse, informal, occasionally risqué writing, the author's style will not be a disappointment.

About style, this added comment: Norquest attempts a reasonably exact translation of the Tex-Mex patois of the wetbacks rather than putting conversations into idiomatic American English. People who still remember some of their high school Spanish will find the reading clumsy but no problem Frequently the author does not bother to translate terms. This may be cumbersome for the reader who is unfamiliar with the language or with terms such as puta or mojado or jara and must guess meaning from context.

It does not occur to Norquest that the use of wetbacks on Texas farms was a form of exploitation. He admits, however, that occasionally there were "bandidos [bandits] on both sides." Instead he views the situation as one primarily of symbiosis or exchange, to use sociological jargon rather than the author's own words. Americans and wetbacks profitted. At the close of the depression and in the war years that followed, an acute shortage of labor to harvest much needed crops existed. When an able body came along, eager to work at low wages, farmers felt no need to pry into that person's history to ascertain whether or not he might be a majado. Leave well enough alone. Though hiring an illegal immigrant was a criminal act, it had the tacit approval of local lawmen and the irksome chota (border patrol). La chota offered little than token resistance in what amounted often to Keystone cop crackdowns. For their part, the wetbacks gained too, according to Norquest. Not only did they earn more money than they could have in Mexico, but they took across the border with them agricultural and mechanical techniques and technologies as well as a taste for a higher standard of living that would make them more valuable Mexican citizens. "All illegal," says the author. (p. 5) That the wetbacks did not conceive of themselves as being exploited is evidenced by the fact that when la chota would catch them and send them home, they would be back in Texas a few hours or days later, as ready as ever to work.

The person who seeks a textbook for a social science course in inter-ethnic relations will find this book inappropriate. But the author never intended it for this use. The reader quickly discovers that the author is no social scientist. Even so, the book would be useful in such a course as collateral reading - more for its message than for the stories it contains. The message rings clear. Mojados "are human beings, with all the faults and good things of all peoples. They have the feelings, souls, ambitions, envies, kindnesses, and plain meannesses of all of us." (p. xiii)

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Peltason, Jack W. Fifty-Eight Lonely Men. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971. 288 p. Index, bibliography. $2.95.

By John F. Kozlowicz, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, Wisconsin

The fifty-eight lonely men are the federal judges of the South. The scope of this book is, however, much broader. Professor Jack Peltason is studying the implementation of school desegregation in the South from the 1954 decision of Brown v. Board of Education until 1961.

The first chapter deals with a brief description of some of the federal judges and their courts. These judges are portrayed as individuals of varied political ideology ranging from moderates to outright segregationists. According to Peltason, federal judges are distinguished from other public officials in the South by the impact of counter pressures on their behavior. As part of the federal judiciary they are influenced by a set of legal values and dictates, but being members of white southern communities they are confronted by the prevailing attitudes of the community in which they reside. These local pressures on the judges do not affect their guarantee of life terms, but social ostracism and a declining status for "too liberal" judges in the local community often influence their decisions. In a sense Peltason's title is a misnomer, all of the federal judges are not "lonely men." Some, as "Judge George Bell Timmerman who had never made a pro-civil rights ruling," are far from being out of step with their white southern community.

In subsequent chapters, Peltason shifts his focus from federal judges to the implementation of the Brown decision. Entire chapters are devoted to descriptions of the strategy of segregationists, the role played by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the rise of private, white, segregated schools to avoid school integration, and the use of violence to circumvent the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Examination of many local situations reveals the diversity of factors that allow desegregation to take place peacefully in one area while violence, resistance, and continued segregation may persist in other areas. This diversity may somewhat depend upon the attitude of the federal judge, but Peltason notes other factors of equal importance. Comparison of the desegregation efforts by Nashville and Little Rock indicates the importance of the organization and concern of moderates vis-a-vis the extremist elements. Where moderate leadership has defaulted in the face of extremist attacks, violence and continued segregation has resulted. In Little Rock such a critical situation developed that a resolution of the conflict occurred only after Presidential intervention with troops.

From the wide range of examples studied, Peltason concludes that federal judges alone are unable, often times unwilling, to solve the problems of school desegregation. Nevertheless, the federal judges have played a significant role effecting what desegregation has occurred. Peltason reports

that many school districts had plans to allow desegregation if only they had a direct mandate from the courts. As a result, Peltason suggests a need for a hierarchy of scapegoars to resolve the school desegregation crisis. Vague rulings from the Supreme Court, "all deliberate speed" for example, lead to less vigorous district court rulings, and ultimately a feeling by local school officials that they need not support desegregation plans until directed to do so by a federal court. To appear favoring integration could wreck the political career of these local officials. Stronger directives from each higher level of the political and judicial hierarchy would "take the heat off" lower officials. However, Peltason notes that some areas as Prince Edward County, Virginia, were not amenable to such judicial leadership as the attitudes of the white community and local political leaders required avoidance of desegregation at all costs.

In evaluating Peltason's book several factors must be taken into consideration. His style is clear and highly readable. Fifty-Eight Lonely Men is essentially a description of events following Brown with special attention to the role of federal district courts. His method is the compilation of data from standard news sources (newspapers, magazines of general circulation as Time and Look), the Race Relations Reporter and court decisions. This readily available data has been organized to tell an interesting and useful story. Peltason's study fills a gap in the literature that Peltason noted in his earlier study, Federal Courts in the Political Process. Studies of federal courts have largely been concerned with the holdings of Supreme Court decisions and ignored the role of other federal courts and judges in the political struggles of interest groups. Fifty-Eight Lonely Men contributes to an understanding of the role of federal courts in this struggle. Unfortunately, Peltason devotes very little attention to the process of selecting federal judges. Only a few pages of cursory treatment are provided. It appears that the struggle of various interest groups at this point would be intense as well as critical to the outcome of the decisional process. An expansion of this section would have been helpful in further understanding the political scope of the desegregation struggle in which federal courts play an active role.

Peltason's selection of varied examples is extensive, but he does not present any criteria for his selection of examples. This work is, however, a useful starting point for a more rigorous analysis of the role of federal courts as it presents a fresh outlook on the importance of federal judges as participants in the desegregation struggle. The interrelation of the federal judges and other participants is evident in the closing of the first chapter:

> Yet the litigation before these judges cannot be isolated from its political context. What happens inside the courtrooms is influenced by what happens in the halls of Congress, at the meetings of school boards, in sessions of the PTA, and in smoke-filled rooms of political conventions. (p. 29)

This reviewer's major disappointment is the failure to revise and update the work more extensively since it was first published in 1961. Admittedly,

a bibliographic essay by Numan Bartley and Kenneth Vines' "Epilogue: 1970" are valuable additions, but they fall short of making this study timely. One is left to wonder what impact those federal judges appointed by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have had on the desegregation process? Have some of the judges first described in 1961 changed? What impact have more recent guidelines laid down by the Supreme Court in decisions as Alexander v. Holmes had on these federal judges? These critical questions are not answered in this new edition. The epilogue by Vines provides a useful summary of the Congressional response to the desegregation crisis; it does not greatly enlarge on the activity of federal courts during this period. Unfortunately, we must wait for someone else to tell the story of "lonely men" in the federal judiciary over the last decade. Despite the above criticisms, Peltason's study remains a useful work for the study of the desegregation process in the South as well as the study of the role of federal judges and federal courts in their local communities.

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Schrag, Peter. The Decline of the WASP. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971. 225p. No index or bibliography. $6.95.

By John E. Bodnar, Ethnic Studies Program, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

By now few students of American culture adhere to notions of some sort of consensus pervading American society. The assault upon consensus has not only been a product of the social upheavals of the 1960s but of numerous monographs by social commentators and historians. Peter Schrag's The Decline of the WASP takes its place in the recent literature on the disintegration of the American social order.

Schrag's incisive and extremely well written account, details the loss of hegeomy of the dominant power group in American life - the white, Anglo Saxon, Protestant.

Schrag claims that we have had numerous analyses of what is wrong with American society. Yet all explanations - the failure of capitalism, the collapse of the middle class - are involved in the decline of the WASP culture - "the central, integrating ethic in American life."

Part of the decline has been internal. The WASP himself, Schrag argues, has suffered a loss of confidence. When the preeminence of the West began to look doubtful, when technology and capitalism were no longer adored, when western confidence began to weaken at Dachau and Hiroshima, the essentials of American-WASP culture began to totter.

Schrag saw the WASP making a comeback in the 1950s with the conformity of that decade and the elevation of the ideals of "organization." Schrag depicts Herman Wouk's The Caine Mutiny, for instance, as reviving the melting pot ideal all over again. Wouk had inferred that the Navy, a mixture of Poles, Jews, Italians, and "older stock," would be the "greatest Navy the world has ever seen." Ironically, as Schrag perceives, the growth of conformity and collectivism partially destroyed the WASP ideal of strong individualism.

Schrag's view of the 1950s is quite familiar by now. However, he uses it effectively as background to the sixties. In the sixties came the devastating assault of the "uncouth boor:" Jewish writers, blacks, long-haired youths, and Catholic radicals. (The white ethnics would await the seventies). Schrag observed that after 1960, "we became, in many respects, a nation of outsiders, a country in which the mainstream, however mythic, lost its compelling attraction."

Perhaps, paramount in the rise of minorities and dissent in the sixties, Schrag suggests, was the influence and challenge of the blacks. The Negro reversed the historic American assumption that the Old World was corrupt and backward while America was the garden of the West. Blacks sought dignity in their African roots. They showed us vitality because they never conformed to the system. It became fashionable again to be different. Even more, blacks taught us to feel good against the drab confining WASP culture.

Schrag is certainly not willing to admit, however, that WASP influence has been completely eradicated. They still initiate such rear-guard actions as John Gardner's Common Cause to curb the power of the "upstarts." Common Cause, for instance, has tried to moderate social change and place it under WASP control. "The WASP elite still controls its own corporate offices, . . . but its power is limited not only in the streets but in the mines and factories it is theoretically supposed to manage, in the college dormitories it has so generously erected and in the bureaucracies it established to do its work."

Schrag's analysis of the WASP's decline concluded with the challenge of modern, popular, plastic culture. Madison Avenue was partly to blame. It sold America on credit, not old fashioned thrift, conformity, not independence. President Nixon too, he feels, was largely a plastic product sold to an American public which was short of traditional cultural values.

Schrag goes beyond his analytic discussion and offers his own prescription for what Americanism can be, now that it has been left without its WASP dominance. He calls for the recognition of values and attitudes that already exist: legalization of practices which are not dangerous to public health (marijuana, abortion), decentralization of schools, police forces, and health services; protection and encouragement of ethnic and social diversity in neighborhoods, regions, and tribal lands, reform of tax laws, encouragement of small, employee-controlled businesses, taxation of all large incomes at full value, allocation of all forms of public educational support directly to parents and students. Schrag concludes, in his own assault upon consensus and conformity, that social stability is not necessarily based on the enforcement of a single set of beliefs. "To say it again: The real objective of social policy is not

to make men identical but to enable them to remain different and distinct."

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Shapiro, Yonathan. Leadership of the American Zionist Organization, 1897-1930. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971. xi + 295 pp. Notes, bibliography, and index. $9.50.

By Egal Feldman, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, Superior, Wisconsin

This work in historical sociology will be read with profit by historians and sociologists alike. Specialists in American Jewish life will find it of special interest.

The book concentrates on the American Zionist movement during the years of its emergence, 1897 to 1930, and upon the relationship of this movement to the survival of the American Jewish community. Its more particular focus is upon the ideology and the leadership of this movement. It is a challenging and provocative commentary on the problems and processes of Jewish acculturation in American society; but its conclusions will undoubtedly generate controversy among students of American Zionism for years to come.

Notwithstanding its scientific methodology, Yonathan Shapiro's work is a sharp polemic, conducted skillfully and on a broad front, against the style of leadership of American Zionism. American Zionism is first assailed because of its Americanization. Shapiro argues that Zionism in America served as little more than an instrument of acculturation, "an ideology of survival," which eventually degenerated into what he designates as "Palestinianism," that is, a desire on the part of American Jews to build Palestine for other Jews, not for themselves. This type of Zionism, notes Shapiro, expressed itself in activities no more dramatic than fund-raising. This approach to Zionism, argues Shapiro, was "safe" for American Jews, since it did not demand their total commitment, nor conflict with their Americanism or impugn their patriotism. Such a half-hearted approach, however, was of little value to the more dedicated membership of the world Zionist movement.

Shapiro's special assault is reserved for the American Zionist leadership whom he describes as marginal men, "leaders from the periphery," who used the Zionist movement, and who in turn were exploited by American Jews in search for leaders, as instruments to enhance their mutual positions and social statuses in both the American and Jewish communities.

In this connection Shapiro reserves his heaviest guns for the dean of American Zionism, the famous jurist, Louis D. Brandeis. The attack on Brandeis emerges as the major core of the work, but, unfortunately, from an historiographical point, it is also the weakest. The Associate Justice is

presented as little more than a political opportunist and clever manipulator of men, who knew little about Jews or Judaism, and who confused Zionism with American progressivism. Selfishly wound-up in his own judicial career, which, to the detriment of the Zionist cause, he always considered the most important dimension of his life, Brandeis also wished to control the Zionist movement and to mold it according to his own desires. He was careful, however, to conceal his aspirations for Zionist management from the American public view, lest it damage his image as an impartial Supreme Court judge.

By 1930, therefore, because of its ideology and leadership, the pattern of American Zionist behavior had been fairly well established. By that time it had moved a good distance from the more idealistic and utopean aspirations of Chaim Weizmann and his European supporters, a position, according to Shapiro, American Zionism continues to maintain until this very day.

It will remain to be seen how this portrait will be greeted by students of American Zionism. To this reviewer, however, despite some questionable handling of evidence, it does contain a considerable measure of validity.

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Thornbrough, Emma Lou. T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972. xi + 388 pp. Preface, note on sources, index. $12.50.

By Joe M. Richardson, Professor of History,
Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

Born in slavery in 1856, T. Thomas Fortune rose to become the "dean" of black American journalists - perhaps the most influential man between the eras of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. He knew little of slavery, but at an early age learned much about white prejudice and terrorism. His father, Emanuel Fortune, a member of the Florida legislature, was forcibly driven from Marianna by white terrorists. While the family went to Jacksonville young Fortune went to Tallahassee to serve as a senate page. Fortune later remembered that in Marianna he had seen openly hostile white men commit outrages upon black people and in Tallahassee he saw professed friends exploit and dupe his people. The white southern condemnation of "carpetbaggers" was hardly more severe than Fortune's.

After a brief formal schooling in Florida Fortune went to Washington, D. C. to attend Howard University. He studied in the preparatory department and in law school, but poverty forced him to take a job in the printshop of the People's Advocate, a recently established black weekly. When the Advocate suffered reverses Fortune returned to Florida to teach school. Finding southern conditions intolerable Fortune in 1881 went to New York never to return south

except for brief visits.

Upon arrival in New York Fortune became editor of the Globe (subsequently the Freeman and the Age) which soon became one of the best edited black weeklies in the country. As editor Fortune was independent and uncompromising. He was one of the first influential black men to advocate political independence. He denounced the United States Supreme Court for its 1883 decision in the Civil Rights Cases; he publicized southern discrimination and terrorism; he defended the right of blacks to resist force with force. "If white men are determined upon shooting whenever they have a difference with a colored man, let the colored man be prepared to shoot also...If it is necessary for colored men to turn themselves into outlaws to assert their manhood and their citizenship, let them do it." When black newspapers branded him an incendiary, Fortune replied that a man who would not resist insults and defend his rights was "a coward worthy only of the contempt of brave men." While not advocating mixed marriages he defended the right of a person to marry anyone whom he wished, and he reprimanded blacks for "narrow and unreasonable"prejudices when they criticized Douglass for marrying a white woman. Fortune vigorously denounced Jim Crow laws. "No man is compelled to obey a law which degrades his manhood and defrauds him of what he has paid for. When I willingly consent to ride in a 'Jim Crow Car' it will be when I am a dead Afro-American." He carried on a long campaign for the use of Afro-American as being more expressive of dignity than Negro.

Fortune was not content with attacking discrimination in editorials. He proposed, helped organize, and served as president of the National Afro-American League, a predecessor of the Niagara Movement and the NAACP. After being arrested for refusing to leave a segregated bar Fortune sued the proprietor for damages and won. On another occasion he intervened when New York immigration officials tried to detain a Scots girl who had come to the United States to marry a black man. Fortune's attitude toward interracial marriage was not only shocking to many whites, but also repugnant to many blacks.

Although Fortune savored his role as a "radical" Afro-American agitator, he developed an intimate friendship with Booker T. Washington. While he was closer in views to W. E. B. DuBois and William Monroe Trotter, Fortune frequently attacked them and defended Washington. Professor Thornbrough admirably explores the seemingly paradoxical relationship between Fortune and the Tuskegee Wizard. Thornbrough suggests that the mental breakdown with which Fortune struggled for years was caused in part by his increasing financial dependence upon Washington.

Though information concerning the private T. Thomas Fortune is scarce Professor Thornbrough has pieced together a portrait of a brilliant, sensitive and humane, sometimes inconsistent and arrogant man, a man who had great strengths, but also many weaknesses. His marital problems, financial distress and his alcoholism are discussed. But Professor Thornbrough also makes clear that despite his weaknesses and problems, Fortune deserves the title of "dean" of black journalists. His writings and speeches are still relevant. His contributions to racial ideology were influential and original. He contributed sig-

nificantly to the ideology of black liberation. Many of his editorials, speeches and demands were not unlike those read and heard today. His ideas were rich and diverse. Stokley Carmichael, Rap Brown, Malcolm X and Roy Wilkins all could find support for some of their views in the writings of Timothy Thomas Fortune.

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Wolseley, Roland E. The Black Press, U.S.A. Introduction by Robert E. Johnson. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971. xiii + 362 pp. Illustrations. bibliography, notes, index. $10.00

By Wyatt W. Belcher, Chairman, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Superior, Wisconsin

This work is a detailed account of black newspapers and magazines in the United States. The study begins with the founding of the first black publication, Freedom's Journal in 1827, and traces the successes and failures of the black press to the present with an assessment of future prospects.

The first part of the book is historical in nature which provides the necessary background for an analysis of the problems connected with developing and substaining a viable black press. This survey covers the entire range of black publications including both national and local newspapers as well as general and specialized magazines.

Professor Wolseley has skillfully organized his study to portray how the black press has given Afro-Americans an identity. It is not just a seriatim listing of publications, but contains a wealth of biographical, historical and sociological information about black people. Leaders such as Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Roy Wilkins could use black publications to communicate directly with their race.

Considerable attention is devoted to the trials and tribulations of black publishers, editors and journalists. News content, editorial views, plans to attract advertising, production methods, business operations, financial difficulties, circulation problems, and readership data are discussed and related to various publications.

Virtually all leading black publications and prominent journalists are mentioned. Many vignettes of individual papers are given ranging all the way from long-established publications such as the Chicago Daily Defender, New York Amsterdam News and the Baltimore Afro-American to the newer highly militant journals like the Black Panther and Muhammad Speaks. There is also a chapter on local newspapers with a wide variety of formats and policies. The

same treatment is given to black magazines starting with the frontrunners such as Ebony, Jet, Tan and Black World and running the maze of all kinds of specialized journals. Tuesday, a monthly consumer magazine, distributed through insertion in several large-city white newspapers claims a circulation of about 2,000,000 copies, the largest for any black publication.

The book contains much information about the leading personalities associated with the black press. An insightful discussion is presented on the contrasting philosophies within black journalism - whether to promote integration or separatism; racial harmony or continued militancy. A fair conclusion would seem to be that until American society becomes fully integrated there will always be the need for a black press to record the experience, preserve the culture, and plead the causes of black people.

This book is indispensable for an understanding of the black man's quest for social justice and his attitudes toward American society as reflected in the black press. Although the author shows empathy for his study, there is sufficient objectivity to classify this book as a scholarly work. It gives a much broader coverage and fuller treatment of the subject than is found in The Black Press, 1827-1890, edited by Martin Dunn. A good bibliography and an adequate index of the many names of people and publications enhance the usefulness of the book.

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